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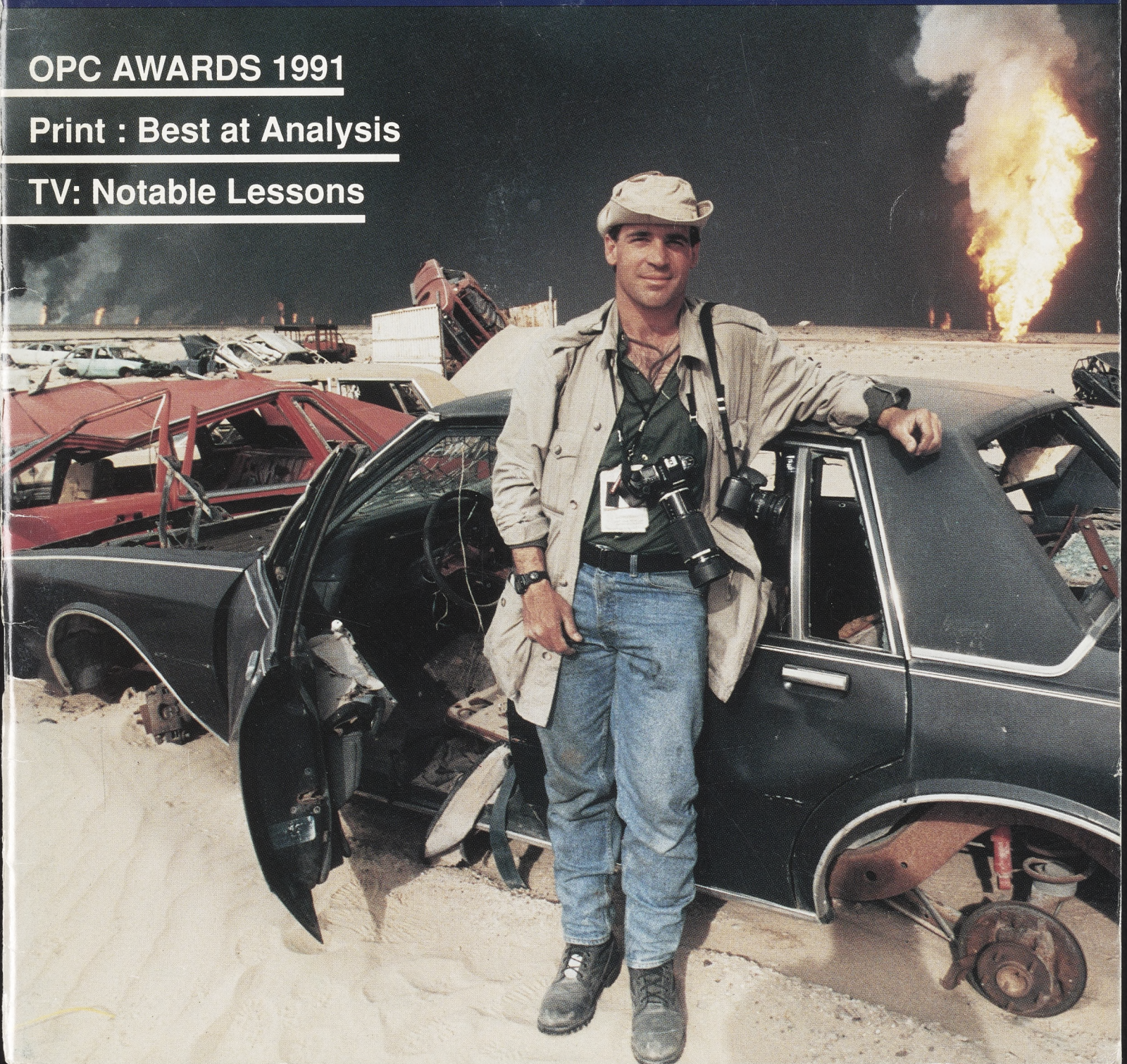
DATELINE 1991

THE MEDIA AND THE WAR

OPC AWARDS 1991

Print : Best at Analysis

TV: Notable Lessons



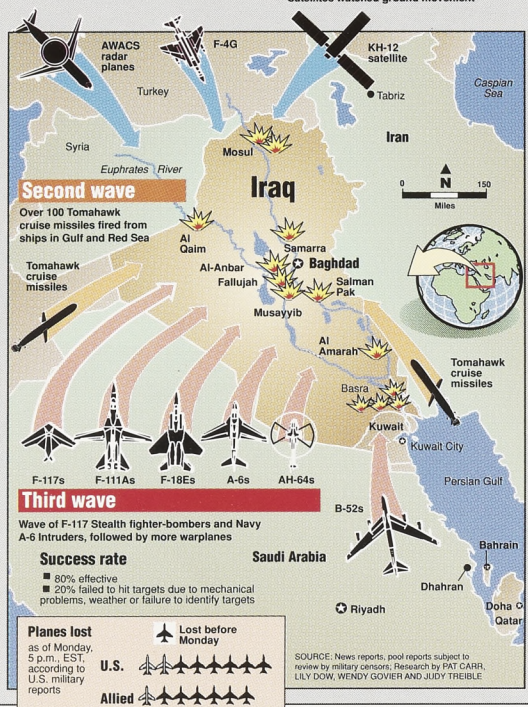
A Great Job, Team!

Allies and Iraq trade blows

In the second day of Operation Desert Storm, U.S. and allied air forces kept up their attack against Iraq and its troops in Kuwait. The allies began to report casualties:

First wave

- F-4G planes jammed Iraqi communications
- AWACS radar planes monitored air traffic
- Satellites watched ground movement



"CARRIER DANCE" BY TODD BUCHANAN, PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

We're proud of the reporters, editors, graphics specialists and photographers from our 40 contributing newspapers who made our coverage of the Persian Gulf War so compelling and complete. Our heartfelt thanks to all of them. And especially to the superb journalists in the war theater. They did a great job.

REPORTERS

Boston Globe:

John Aloysius Farrell — Saudi Arabia
Peter Gosselin — Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
Colin Nickerson — Saudi Arabia
Walter V. Robinson — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
Curtis Wilkie — Jerusalem and Tel Aviv
John Yemma — Amman, Jordan

Chicago Tribune:

Terry Atlas — Saudi Arabia
David Evans — Saudi Arabia
Tom Hundley — Jerusalem and Tel Aviv
Storer H. Rowley — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
Ray Moseley — Amman and Ruweished, Jordan
Liz Sly — Amman, Jordan

Dallas Morning News:

Gregory Katz — Amman, Jordan
Anne Reifenberg — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia and Dubai, United Arab Emirates
George Rodrigue — Aboard the USS Wisconsin and the USS Nicholas in the Persian Gulf

Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel:

Mike Billington — Saudi Arabia
Tom Harvey — Jerusalem

Orange County Register:

Tracy Weber — Israel
Gary A. Warner — Saudi Arabia
Knight-Ridder
Boca Raton News:
Sharon Geltner — Israel
Detroit Free Press:
Frank Bruni — Saudi Arabia
Jocelyne Zablitz and Remer Tyson — Cairo, Egypt

Miami Herald:

Tom Fiedler — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
Martin Merzer — Jerusalem and Tel Aviv
Carol Rosenberg — Amman and Ruweished, Jordan
Peter Slevin — Diyarbakir and Ankara, Turkey and Tel Aviv

Juan O. Tamayo — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

Philadelphia Inquirer:

Larry Copeland — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
Vernon Loeb — Jerusalem and Tel Aviv
Carol Morello — Aboard the USS John F. Kennedy in the Red Sea
David Zucchini — Saudi Arabia

PHOTOGRAPHERS

Chicago Tribune:

Ernie Cox, Jr. — Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

Dallas Morning News:

David Leeson — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

Orange County Register:

Nadia Borowski — Jerusalem

Knight-Ridder

Boca Raton News:

Dave Becker — Israel

Columbia State:

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Miami Herald:

Jon Kral — Jerusalem

Philadelphia Inquirer:

Todd Buchanan — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

Akira Suwa — Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

San Jose Mercury News:

Michael Rondou — Jerusalem

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OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA, INC

DATELINE 1991

THE MEDIA AND THE WAR

4. Tension Between Government and the Press" **By George Bush**
 "But, Do The Generals Understand?" **By H.L. Stevenson**
6. Couch Potatoes into Correspondents? **By Roy Rowan**
8. An Apparent "Desire to Hinder" **By Fred Bayles**
10. The Lesson of Vietnam **By Barry Zorthian**
 First Amendment Lawsuit
13. Vietnam Syndrome Rampant **By Jack Payton**
14. They Managed Us Completely **By Peter Schmelsser**
15. "...to be as fair as possible..." **By Pete Williams**
19. What Are They Trying To Hide?" **By Walter Cronkite**
20. ...Schwarzkopf stepped in **By Jim Adams**
22. The Burden of Being Female **By Maria Wilhelm**
26. The Print Media again shines out clearly **By David Shaw**
29. **OPC AWARDS 1991**
38. Peter Arnett: Few Do It Better **By Leon Daniel**
40. "I'm Proud Of What He Has Achieved" **By Elsa C. Arnett**
41. "The Truth Is..." **By Andrew Arnett**
45. The War's Notable Lessons **By Jonathan Alter**
46. 10 Years to CNN's Overnight Success **By Edwin Diamond**
 But, Where's Page 2? **By David Halberstam**
49. TV Graphics: Steadily on Target **By Walter Goodman**
 Information, One Bite at a Time **By Ray Chattman**
53. A Gift of Satellite Technology: Instant War **By Kenneth R. Clark**
55. Detained in Baghdad **By Patrick de Noirmont**
57. Denial of Free Press **By Norman A. Schorr**
64. Life in Scudland **By Jonathan Ferziger**

On the Cover:
 Patrick Downs,
 staff photographer
 of the Los Angeles
 Times pauses by
 abandoned autos
 near a burning oil
 field in Kuwait.
 Los Angeles
 Times photo.

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 to thank the
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 works, Wire
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 who have so
 generously assist-
 ed in publication
 of *Dateline* 1991.

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HISTORY



1865



1919



1941



1953



1970



1991

REPEATS ITSELF

FROM GENERAL LEE'S SURRENDER AT APPOMATTOX, TO VIETNAM AND THE GULF WAR, THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE KEPT THE MIDWEST INFORMED WITH FIRSTHAND COVERAGE FROM ITS OWN REPORTERS ON THE SCENE.

■ At times when the news is of exceptional importance, people in the Midwest know they can depend on the people at the Chicago Tribune to deliver the highest quality coverage. Ever since the Civil War, the Chicago Tribune has been committed to putting their people on the scene, where they develop the personal contacts and face-to-face interviews necessary for the most accurate and complete coverage and perspectives.

■ When the crisis in the Mideast turned to war, and Midwesterners needed a clear and complete understanding of events, they turned to the Tribune. Although the conflict was halfway around the world, the Chicago Tribune responded with full force—with nearly a dozen reporters and photographers stationed throughout the Gulf, including a Military Affairs specialist. An extensive Washington Bureau and correspondents in Moscow, London, Berlin and elsewhere delivered national and global perspectives. The Chicago Tribune once again provided the Midwest with history-making war coverage.

■ The Midwest demanded to know what was happening during the Gulf War. The Chicago Tribune would like to salute its reporters, editors, photographers and artists who provided the highest quality news coverage.

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Washington Correspondent

Ernest Cox
Photographer

John Crewdson
Washington Correspondent

Stephen Cvengros
Illustrations Editor

George de Lama
Washington Correspondent

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Foreign Correspondent

Vincent Schodolski
Foreign Correspondent

Thom Shanker
Foreign Correspondent

Liz Sly
Washington Correspondent

Jim Yuenger
Foreign Editor

Chicago Tribune

"Some Tension Between Government and the Press is Inevitable — and Healthy"

By George Bush

President of The United States of America

I am pleased to extend my warmest greetings to the readership of *Dateline Magazine*. Congratulations to the recipients of the Overseas Press Club's 1990 Awards.

Benjamin Franklin once wrote: "without freedom of thought there can be no such thing as wisdom; and no such thing as liberty without freedom of speech." This year, as we mark the 200th anniversary of the First Amendment, his words remind us of the vital role that the free press has played in preserving our system of self-government.

In a single sentence guaranteeing freedom of speech and of the press, the framers of our Bill of Rights set forth an idea that has become a guiding tenet of successful democracies around the world. However, a free press is only as effective as the individuals who make it work.

Covering events of the day in a fair, timely, and accurate manner, America's

news media have maintained a standard of professionalism that is recognized throughout the world. Among the most respected members of the media are the journalists and photographers who are willing to accept the inherent difficulties and challenges associated with the role of a foreign correspondent.

Overseas correspondents help to provide the American people with a window through which they can observe the events that shape our world. The recent coverage of events in the Persian Gulf underscored the vital role of the overseas journalist, as dedicated professionals risked the dangers of war and the hazards of the desert to keep the public informed.

Although some view the various controversies surrounding press coverage of Operation Desert Storm as a reason for concern, it is my firm belief that some tension between the government and the press is inevitable — and healthy. Lt.

General Thomas Kelly spoke eloquently about the role of the press in a free society during his final Pentagon press briefing as Operations Director for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The General, himself a former journalist, said: "having a free press has served the United States well for 215 years. It is a crucial element in our democracy, and if anybody needs a contrast, all they have to do is look at the country that didn't have a free press and see what happened there." That country is Iraq.

Today, two centuries after the adoption of the Bill of Rights, our system of government continues to evolve — as does the role of the press. The media's role in disseminating information and in spurring public debate remains crucial, and I am confident that it will continue to strengthen the foundation of our Nation's freedom.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes. God bless you.

"But, Do The Generals Understand The 1st Amendment?"

By H.L. Stevenson

President of the Overseas Press Club of America



Stevenson is corporate editor for Crain Communications Inc., New York, and former Editor-in-Chief for United Press International.

President Bush has called for a mammoth Fourth of July tribute to the men and women who won the war in the Persian Gulf. In all likelihood, we are going to see more trombones, longer marching columns and brighter and bigger banners than at any time since the men came home from Europe and Asia nearly 50 years ago.

Patriotism, never dead, has been in and out of fashion since then.

A highly-decorated military man from the Vietnam era recalled while everyone rejoiced over the rout of Saddam Hussein that he had been confronted many times when he came home with the question: "How many babies did you kill in the war?"

Now we are going to have a massive and well deserved outpouring of support for the U.S. military, which convincingly demonstrated its firepower, willpower and brainpower in soundly trouncing Saddam.

This holiday commemorates, lest we forget, the founding of this nation; later this year, on Dec. 15, 1991, we mark the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights.

You are probably better acquainted with the First Amendment:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government in a redress of grievances."

These 45 words are sacred, or the next thing to it, to American journalists. But to a majority of their countrymen, as borne out by polls during the Gulf War, the U.S. government has the right to keep reporters far from the front, herd them about like school children, censor and delay their copy and forbid a whole range of things including life in the field with the troops. What would Ernie Pyle or Bill



President George Bush speaks with Gen. Colin Powell after addressing the joint session of Congress

Mauldin have thought! One military censor argued that "proud" was better than the "giddy" used in a pool report about a jubilant air crew returning from a bombing run to Iraq.

Let the record show that not one reporter or editor ever advocated breaches of security. Reports of troop movements, or any other fact that could aid the opposing force, are forbidden.

For months, as the U.S. and its allies built a massive military machine, the Pentagon imposed first one set, then another, of zealous, nonsensical guidelines for the press.

There was some relaxation, after loud howls, but in the end with victory coming swiftly, most of the reporters and photographers were still under tight leash. A few bravely dashed into Kuwait to report its liberation. About 40 were captured in trying to push deeper into Iraq.

The detentions played into the hands of the military. This, the brass hinted out loud, was just the sort of thing they were trying to protect the reporters from!

"Congress shall make no law..."

It's O.K. for the Pentagon, however, with the tacit backing of the President and the generals. The colonels and generals who think the press was the undoing of the U.S. in Vietnam (where they fought as lieutenants and other ranks) are determined it will never happen again. They have made their point in Grenada, Panama and, now, the Persian Gulf.

President Bush might consider another call for the Fourth of July: Support Press Freedom! Mr. President, for starters, why not convene a group of top journalists, top citizens and top generals a few days before the holiday. Read the First Amendment, and the rest of the Bill of Rights aloud. Make sure the generals

and the politicians understand the words apply to everyone in government. Then adjourn the meeting.

As for the press, we spend too much time talking to each other about press freedom. We must be more vigorous in defining and defending it with the public at large. It is our neighbors, not our newsrooms, who must be converted.

This issue of the Overseas Press Club's Dateline is dedicated to the correspondents who covered the men and women who fought and won the war earlier this year. They did a remarkably good job, despite the restrictions.

With a strong pledge of support for the First Amendment from the President, the generals and the public, this Fourth of July could turn out to be "The Mother of All Fourths." It may be asking too much, but we all have to wage the campaign, and make sure the public understands the battle is for the reader and viewer.

In our past, facts uncovered by the press helped change U.S. policy....

Turning Couch Potatoes into Today's Correspondents?

By Roy Rowan

Writer, Editor, Correspondent

In the fury of Desert Storm, many Americans concluded that they were their own best combat correspondents. As glued-to-the-TV couch potatoes, they could eyewitness Cruise missiles crisscrossing Baghdad's night sky, see smart bombs diving down Iraqi command post ventilators, or watch Scuds tearing holes in Tel Aviv. So why did they need a flock of shepherded pool reporters to add superfluous perspective? Especially when they could get it live, and straight from the commanding general's mouth at televised briefings?

In previous wars it was the correspondents, photographers, and cameramen who delivered the news. Their views not only swayed public opinion, but often helped shape U.S. foreign policy. So war reporting carried with it an immense burden which many of us shared.

Reality Revealed

My first sense of this responsibility came in 1948 when President Truman faced a well-mobilized China lobby. Many of its members, including my own boss, Henry Luce, were pressuring him to send U.S. troops to prop up Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist armies in their fight against Mao Zedong's Communist forces. Communications inside China were almost non-existent, and news coverage was hit or miss. You found out where the action was by hopscotching around the vast interior on ammunition planes chartered by the Chinese government.

One fall day, landing in Mukden, Manchuria's capital, LIFE photographer Jack Birns and I discovered that the announced million-man battle for that industrialized region was either a myth or had simply evaporated. No other reporters or photographers had arrived, although Chiang's army was already in chaotic retreat, commandeering every freight and passenger train in the region. Abandoned Howitzers littered the fields. Panicked civilians fought to board the empty ammo planes deadheading back to Shanghai. On Truman's orders, U.S. Consul General Angus Ward had barricaded himself in his office behind a year's supply of canned food, hoping to establish diplomatic contact with the Communists.

Affected China Policy

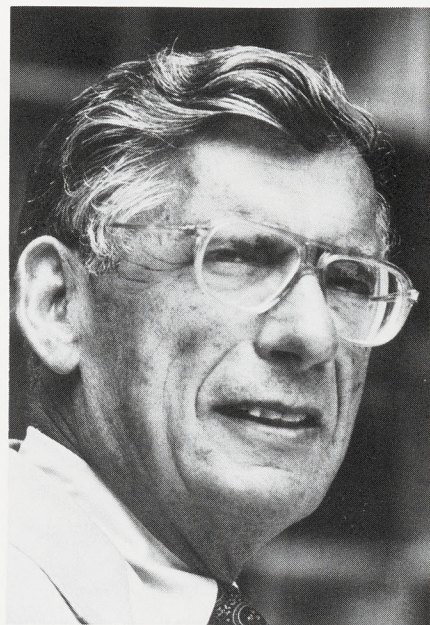
LIFE's story of the debacle, plus equally disheartening reports emanating from other provinces, helped counter the China lobby's propaganda, and convince Americans of the folly of committing U.S. soldiers to that unraveling civil war. Covering China on a return visit 40 years later, just as the 1989 student riots were erupting, it became obvious once again how press coverage of those tumultuous weeks in Tienanmen Square would similarly affect America's China policy for years to come.

In the wake of Nationalist China's collapse came South Korea's call for military help, which Truman responded to unhesitatingly. But back home the Korean war, too, evolved into a heated political controversy in which every combat correspondent felt like a participant. My own role was certainly minor, though it didn't feel so at the time.

On Thanksgiving Day in 1950, another LIFE photographer and I were covering a 7th Division fire fight in the frozen Yalu River gorge separating North Korea from Manchuria. We woke up that 25-below-zero morning to discover footprints in the snow coming down from China. They were the first clue of Mao's entry into the war. The ensuing arguments surrounding Douglas MacArthur's planned strategy of "hot pursuit" to chase Mao's soldiers back into China finally ended with Truman firing his five-star general.

Why Ike Stayed Out

President Eisenhower, like his predecessor, quickly became enmeshed in an Asian controversy, to which the press contributed. Soon after entering the White House, Eisenhower came under heavy pressure to support the French in Indo-China, as Vietnam was called. As a reporter accompanying Foreign Legionnaires on fruitless jungle raids, and flying with cognac-swigging French pilots to make futile air drops to their beleaguered hilltop fortress of Dienbienphu, it was clear that France was in a no-win war. News reports of an elusive enemy army supported by a courageous populace helped persuade Eisenhower to maintain a hands-off policy, although almost iden-



Roy Rowan, a former assistant managing editor of LIFE, a TIME bureau chief, and a member of FORTUNE's board of editors, spent 15 years covering wars in Asia. He has written two books, and now freelances from his home in Greenwich, Conn.

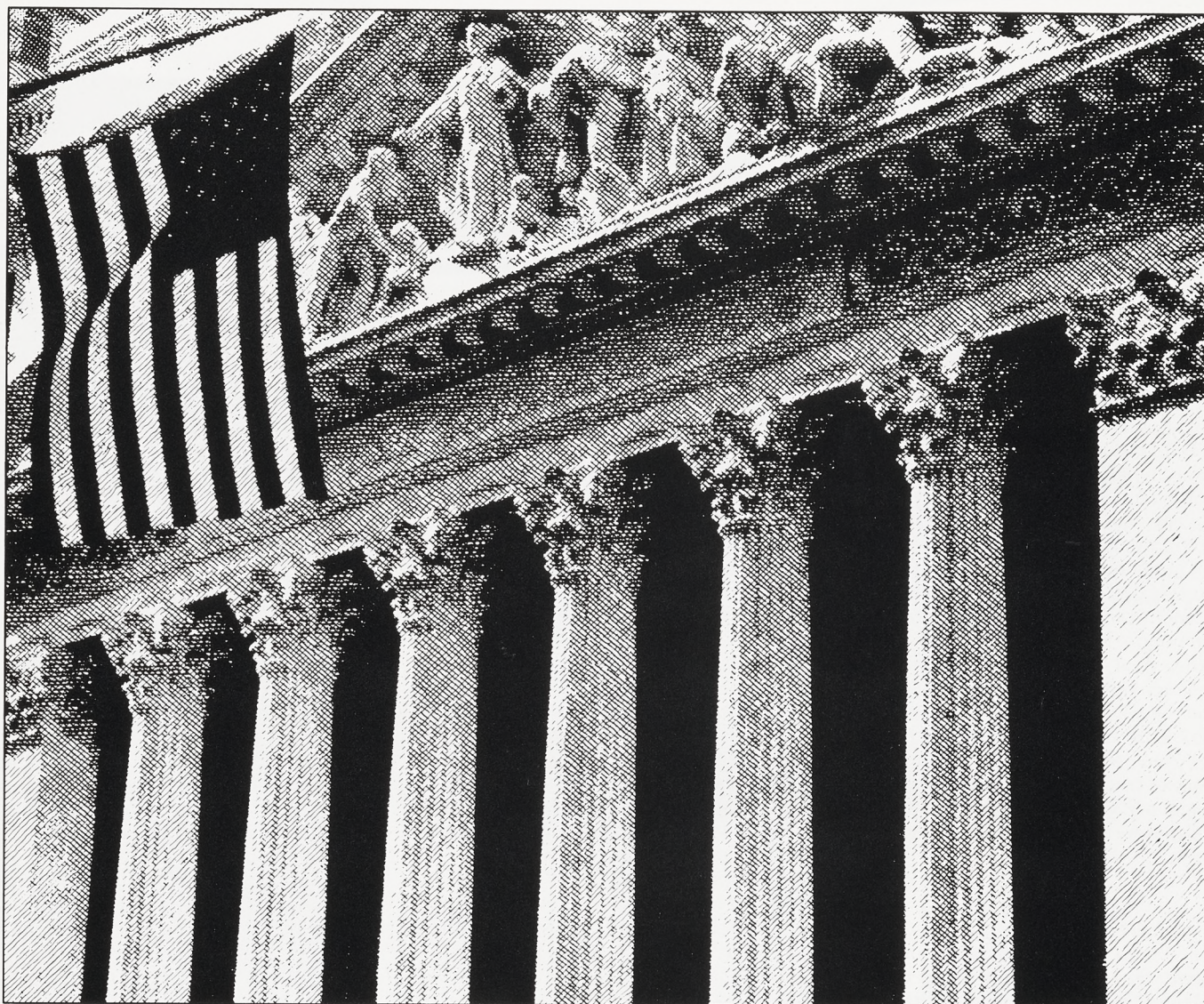
tical reporting a dozen years later failed to warn off Lyndon Johnson from his deep involvement in Vietnam.

Evacuating Saigon on one of the last helicopters in April, 1975, I was reminded of the barrage of articles years earlier describing the implacable will power and patience of a people who saw themselves menaced by a huge foreign force—in that case, prophetic reporting that failed to prevent a disastrous tour in U.S. foreign policy.

Schwarzkopf's Deception

Today, a dazzling technology that allowed all Americans to follow the Persian Gulf war, hour by hour as it was being fought, makes everyone feel like an armchair correspondent. But watching all the action, complete with instant replays and Pentagon briefings, doesn't eliminate the need for eyewitness coverage. After all, the military view presented by the briefers won't ever satisfy the appetite of those Americans who want a cross-section of opinion. As we all know, democracy depends on a well-informed, not just a well-briefed, public.

The need for combat correspondents, who can penetrate censorship without giving away military secrets, became even more evident once the war ended. General Norman Schwarzkopf then revealed that he had deliberately misled the press about a Marine amphibious landing to fool the Iraqi defenders. That admission should make even the most comfort-loving couch potatoes a little squirmy during future wars.



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How the Press Pools Failed An Apparent "Desire to Hinder"

By Fred Bayles

Associated Press Writer

DHAHRAN, Saudi Arabia - Phil Shenon of *The New York Times* had good stuff. Flown to the front, he talked to soldiers taking part in the biggest ground offensive since World War II.

Their stories gave humanity and perspective to the historic event.

Then came the troubles. Instead of keeping a promise to get stories to the press pool in timely fashion, Shenon's military hosts took 72 hours to transmit them to Dhahran. They blamed phone problems and a broken fax machine.

When Shenon and other reporters volunteered to call in the stories from a Saudi public phone a few minutes away, they were not permitted to leave the base.

'Ludicrous Argument'

"We were given the ludicrous argument that we couldn't leave the base because there was a terrorist threat," he said. "They were supposed to help us file our story, but there seemed to be every desire to hinder us in getting the work out."

Shenon wasn't alone in his experience. By many accounts, the military-run press pool system failed to get the soldiers' accounts of the war back to the American public.

The...pools...were set up to see military secrets weren't divulged, facilitate access to the front lines and provide security for reporters. Penalty for breaking the military rules was to be loss of credentials for covering the war.

But many say the...pools...just didn't function properly. While reporters battled to interview troops, their stories often languished at corps headquarters, becoming irrelevant as the war progressed at a lightning pace.

News Delayed For Days

"It just didn't work," said Leon Daniel, chief correspondent for United Press International. "My problem is with the whole concept of a military-run pool. Whoever said the Army is good at moving copy?"

In certain cases, elite units like the Marines and the 101st Airborne eagerly sought the publicity, aware that could boost defense funding. They offered helicopters and combat radios to get word back from the front.

But there were many more instances in which the news never got out.

In VII Corps, where hundreds of thousands of troops staged a dramatic flanking movement through Iraq and into Kuwait, reporters waited in vain for couriers to relay stories about GIs living the moment.

As day followed frustrating day, the journalists had to listen to accounts of the move via radio broadcasts of military briefings in Riyadh.

Trapped hundreds of miles behind enemy lines, some reporters had to wait a week before they could get word out. By then it was too late.

Not Allowed to Work

"We gave up lots of freedom to join the pool with the understanding that we would be allowed to do our work," said Shenon. "But we were not allowed to do our work."

Three Associated Press reporters covering VII Corps units had stories delayed for days. One spent 10 days with his unit without being able to file a story. Word only got out when a unit commander provided a helicopter to fly him back to an international telephone center in Saudi Arabia.

The pool system was supposed to work like this: Reporters representing newspapers, wire services, television, radio and magazines were assigned to specific units. Public affairs officers were to provide safety and logistics.

Stories would be reviewed for security problems, then rushed to the military's Joint Information Bureau in Dhahran for distribution to the rest of the media.

Mulvey's Explanation

The bureau director, Col. Bill Mulvey, agreed the system had its problems, but said, "overall we had a tremendously



Associated Press

positive experience with the press."

"One of the very best parts was leaving journalists with the units for extended periods of time," he said. "It gave journalists who had never been in the military a real understanding of the troops."

But parts of the system broke down.

One argument for the...pools...was safety. But Associated Press photographer Bob Jordan was sent out with an escort officer in a rattletap 1st Infantry Division car with a hot-wired ignition and flashlights strapped to the hood as headlights.

What Safety?

The public affairs officers had no radio, map or functioning compass. Separated from their unit, they spent two days wandering the desert, low on water. The



Correspondents pool begins assignment with 101st Airborne Division.

car skirted a field of live ordnance, then blundered into an Iraqi bunker complex where armed troops watched as they changed a flat tire.

"I don't know what kind of danger we were in, but it sure wasn't comfortable," Jordan said.

Many escorts didn't understand the news business.

Secret Onions

A surprise raid by the 101st captured hundreds of Iraqis as they ate a lunch of potatoes, onions and dates.

When the story was written, a young public affairs captain tried to delete references to the bill of fare, saying it might have strategic value. His censorship was reversed by a more experienced officer.

"The military needs to get out of the journalism business and we need to get back into it," said UPI's Daniel.

Pool's Collapse

When the coalition forces reached the outskirts of Kuwait City on Feb. 26, *Washington Post* correspondent Guy Gugliotta reported, "To hear the military officials tell it, yesterday was the biggest day of the war... There were 142 combat pool reporters accompanying U.S. ground forces... Yesterday, hardly any of them filed a dispatch that arrived in the United States in time for yesterday's evening news or today's morning news. And none provided a firsthand account of ground combat. By design or by

default, the biggest day of the war was one of the most underreported days..." Gugliotta said that, while the pool system "appears to have collapsed with the start of the ground war," some reporters entered Kuwait City. "None was a pool reporter, but without them Americans today would know little or nothing about how the Iraqis had nearly abandoned the capital of the country, which the United States and its allies have been trying to free from Iraqi occupation for almost six weeks.

Chief U.S. Spokesman in 'Nam Calls for Unrestricted Access The Lesson of Vietnam

Associated Press



Barry Zorthian in South Vietnam.

By Barry Zorthian

Zorthian presided over the Saigon briefings as chief U.S. spokesman for four and a half years. The following is from Senate testimony on Pentagon press rules.

The current media rules suggest to me that the military has decided that one of the "mistakes" of Vietnam it is determined not to repeat is the unrestricted movement and coverage by the media in that period which it believes led to a distorted picture of the Vietnam war for the American public. Accordingly, the military has established the current restrictions on the movement and

coverage by correspondents to prevent the undisciplined media excesses of the past and wants to project instead a picture of the war which will be controlled and based largely on official sources...

No system will eliminate all controversy but differences can be held to a minimum and the joint task of informing the public can be achieved, I believe, without acrimony even though the two elements are and should continue to be adversarial.

Media's "Excellent Record"

To do this, the military must recognize the benefit to the military's credibility in the long run of facilitating unobstructed access and movement for the media within the limits of physical capacity as well as the media's excellent record in Vietnam and elsewhere in observing legitimate security ground rules on a voluntary basis.

For its part, the media must continue to acknowledge and comply in both letter and spirit with the military's legitimate security needs for both protection of testimonial military information and for caution in the transmission of information over modern communications facilities. It must also recognize that the large number of correspondents of varying competence seeking to cover military operations presents a physical problem of logistics and potential distraction for the combat commander that must be resolved. And finally, editors and producers at home offices must avoid excessive pressures due to competition and must take responsibility for the caliber and the actions of their representatives in the field and for the final product at home.

Issues Can Be Resolved

With respective understanding of these points, there is no reason the three principal issues of present contention — the escort requirement, the pool system and the pre-transmission review of copy — cannot be resolved in a satisfactory manner...The Sidle Commission report of 1984, which was endorsed as general operating procedure by the Defense Department at the time, points the way to answers: facilitative escorts, not monitors; resort to pools only when they are the "only feasible means" and then for the minimum length of time; and reliance on "voluntary compliance by the media with security guidelines or ground rules established and issued by the military."

First Amendment Lawsuit Pending Against The Pentagon



Associated Press

Author E.L. Doctorow leaves hearing on suit.

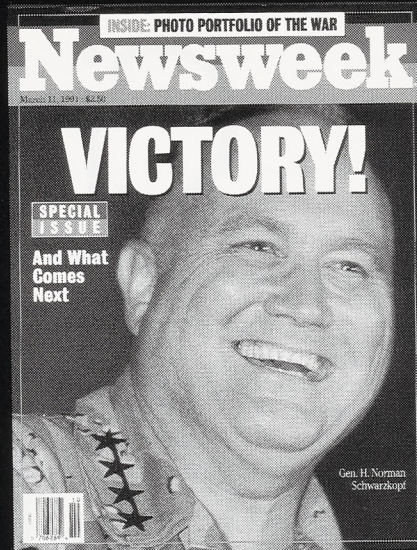
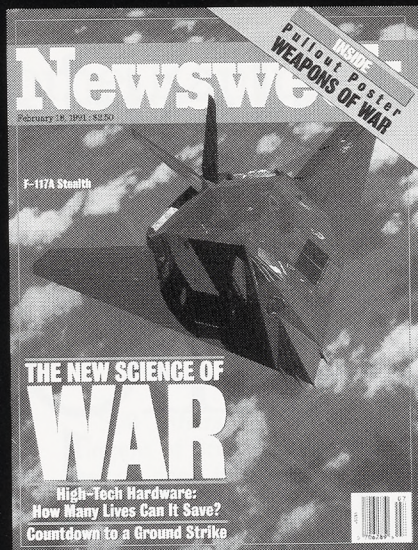
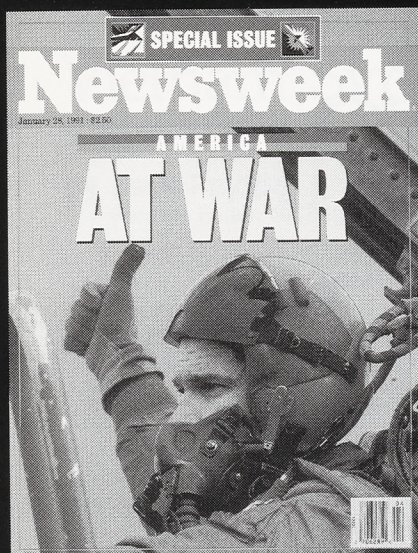
NEW YORK — A federal district judge is expected to rule soon on the First Amendment lawsuit against Pentagon control of Persian Gulf War coverage brought by several publications, journalists and authors.

Judge Leonard Sand heard final arguments on March 7th in New York and said he would hold off deciding the case immediately because the end of the war and lifting of restrictions on reporters had eliminated the urgency for a ruling.

Government lawyers argued that

the lawsuit was no longer valid because the Pentagon press pool rules had ceased, at least for the time being. But lawyers for the Center for Constitutional Rights, which brought the complaint, said the case was not moot because the restrictions — coming on the heels of similar restraints governing the Grenada and Panama invasions — would likely be applied to American journalists in future wars.

Plaintiffs in the lawsuit include *The Nation*, *Harper's Magazine*, and Pulitzer Prize winner Sydney Schanberg.



HIGH PRAISE FROM THE NATION'S PRESS

"...Newsweek comes out on top in its war coverage..."

*Los Angeles Times Magazines columnist Bob Sipchen,
"Newsweeklies Gun for New War Angle," Jan. 24, 1991*

"...Newsweek in particular has a dandy inside history, which is especially strong in revealing...the nature of our military buildup."

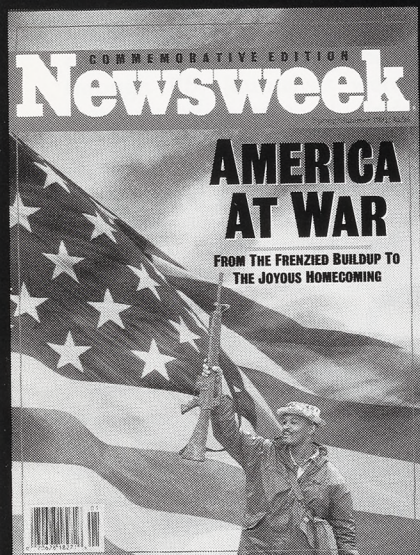
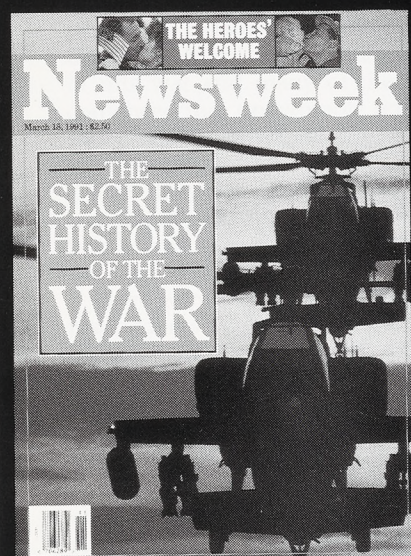
Chicago Tribune (1/24/91)

"For the most comprehensive coverage and best photo display of the war, Newsweek comes out a winner"

Atlanta Journal Constitution (3/5/91)

"The only time when the generals became alarmed was when Newsweek magazine printed a battle scenario close to the real plan "But as it turned out, Saddam Hussein does not read Newsweek," said Brigadier General L. Arnold, assistant chief of staff for planning and operations at the Army's central command."

Associated Press (2/2/91)



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Among Our Officers in the Gulf War Vietnam Syndrome Rampant

By Jack Payton

Foreign Editor, St. Petersburg Times

DHAHRAN, Saudi Arabia — When you got to know some of the younger public affairs officers working in the Gulf War press center, when they were talking freely away from their superiors, one word always came up in the conversation — Vietnam.

That's because more than 15 years after the Vietnam War ended, the bitter legacy of America's failure there still colors the way many top-ranking military officers view the news media. Officers who were company battalion commanders in Vietnam were running the show in this war and many of them remain convinced that unfavorable reporting in Indochina undermined the war effort two decades ago.

That suspicion of the news media is written all over the elaborate system of pool reporting and the way it operated in the Gulf War.

There were 14 so-called "Combat Correspondents Pools" covering the war on the coalition side from Saudi Arabia. Only about 150 of the 1,100 or so reporters in Dhahran and the 300 in Riyadh were members of those pools. Almost all of them were from American news organizations that got here early and established a presence with the military officers running the Joint Information Bureau, or JIB, headquartered in Dhahran's International Hotel.

The purpose of the pool system is to channel all field reporting about the war through JIB. Journalists were warned that any attempts to do independent reporting outside the pool set-up could result in cancellation of their press credentials and expulsion from the country. Field commanders were warned not to talk to reporters who showed up unannounced and to report their names to the JIB.

Pools Defied

Even so, many reporters here routinely defied the Pentagon's pool system and went out on their own. CBS correspondent Bob Simon and his crew were among them, but they got too close to the frontier and got caught by an Iraqi reconnaissance patrol.

Until the beginning of February, operating on your own was fairly easy. But then checkpoints along the highways leading to the front had multiplied.

Some reporters managed to get around even the strict highway checkpoints by dressing up in camouflage fatigues and helmets and striking out through the desert in Toyota Land Cruisers, which

were often used by military officers beyond the lines. Some of them got lost in the process and others were arrested.

Highlight Success Only

Still others, especially a large contingent of British reporters, managed to set up shop in the northern city of Haifa Al-Batin where they were able for a time to make daily forays toward the front and find friendly troops to interview. But Saudi and American officials caught on to that and ordered most of them out.

That left the Pentagon's pool system as the major source of field reports about the war.

The problem with that is that the pool system is clearly designed to highlight the military's successes and keep possibly unfavorable information out of reach of reporters.

Many of the pools concentrated on high-tech hardware and their brief duration prevented reporters from getting a feel for soldiers' life on the front or forming any relationships of trust with the officers who can make their work more productive. That's why the public saw a lot of reporting on cruise missiles, Stealth fighter-bombers and Patriot anti-missile missiles and less on what it's like to be a grunt stuck in a fighting hole for weeks on end at the front.

Interviews Inhibited

Another important drawback of the pool system was that many interviews with the troops had to be conducted in the presence of a public affairs officer. I can't count the number of times soldiers told me quietly to "come back later when you're alone."

The upshot is that the public for the most part got information the Pentagon wanted to get and was deprived of the

kind of information the Pentagon didn't like.

Another of the more obvious negative effects of the pool system was that it reduced the actual amount of reporting being done. Only 150 reporters could go out in the field to report on more than 520,000 American service men and women. Often, only a few of the 14 pools were in the field at any given time. Some pools were rarely activated, reducing even further the number of reporters covering the war at any given time.

Foreign Reporters Curbed

And what about the 1,250 or so reporters in Saudi Arabia who weren't in Combat Correspondent Pools? Some of them were so furious over being prevented from doing their job in mid-February that they threatened to drive en masse to the Kuwait front, defying the military to stop them. The confrontation was avoided when 40 more pool reporting slots were created. Non-American and non-British reporters among them claimed that even with the new reporting slots, the pool system ensured that reporting on the war would continue to reflect a particularly American point of view.

But for the most part, most of the reporters not on pools were relegated to rewriting pool reports and weaving in the hard news of the day from the televised briefings in Riyadh and Washington. Many went home early in disgust.

Norman Didn't Help

One man who could have changed the pool system with one telephone call was Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of Desert Storm — and a Vietnam veteran.



How the Pentagon Controlled the News They Managed Us Completely

By Peter Schmeisser
Author

From an article in The New Republic by Schmeisser, whose book on government media relations in wartime, "Silencing Jeremiah," is to be published next year by Viking.

...The (news pool) system in the Gulf did not spring up in the past six months. It evolved over the previous six years, during which the press had numerous opportunities to fight the system aggressively. They didn't.

The story begins with the Grenada invasion. The Reagan administration, having witnessed the successful strategy of press control that Margaret Thatcher constructed to wage the Falklands campaign (the plan contained pooling and a central military source for all combat information), tried an even more restrictive tack in preparing for the invasion of the Caribbean island. On October 25, 1983, when U.S. forces landed on Grenada, the press corps was simply left behind. Some journalists who chartered boats to get to the island were intercepted and held for two days on board a Navy ship. The press corps was furious.

Soon afterward the Defense Department appointed a review board headed by Brigadier General Winant Sidle to study the deteriorating media-military relations. Sidle had been the chief of public affairs for the combined U.S. services in Vietnam. Hearings were held in February 1984, and several months later he submitted eight recommendations, all of which Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger promised to implement. One suggestion called for the formation of a war pool that could be sent in within hours of combat — a stop-gap measure to ensure that at least some correspondents would be present to gather news until the rest of the press could reach the theater.

Original Pool Plan

The pools were advertised as a boon, with no mention of restrictions, field censorship, or military escorts. Sidle stressed that the media were perfectly capable of following the basic security guidelines voluntarily. By October 1984, the Pentagon announced the formation of a Department of Defense Media Pool. The major news organizations quickly signed up, with little concern about exactly how the pool structure would operate, or the assumption that it would dissolve soon after hostilities began.

The sole voice of suspicion came from *Time* magazine's Washington bureau, where editors were leery of getting permission to cover events that had been open to journalists before Grenada. The Washington bureau wanted to boycott the proposed pools, and *Time's* head office in New York approved the tactic but warned that a press refusal would work only if all the big news houses acted in unison. A quick polling of other Washington bureaus brought the same reply: "We support you in principle, but we can't afford to get left behind once the shooting starts." *Time* belied up to the pool.

Panama Debacle

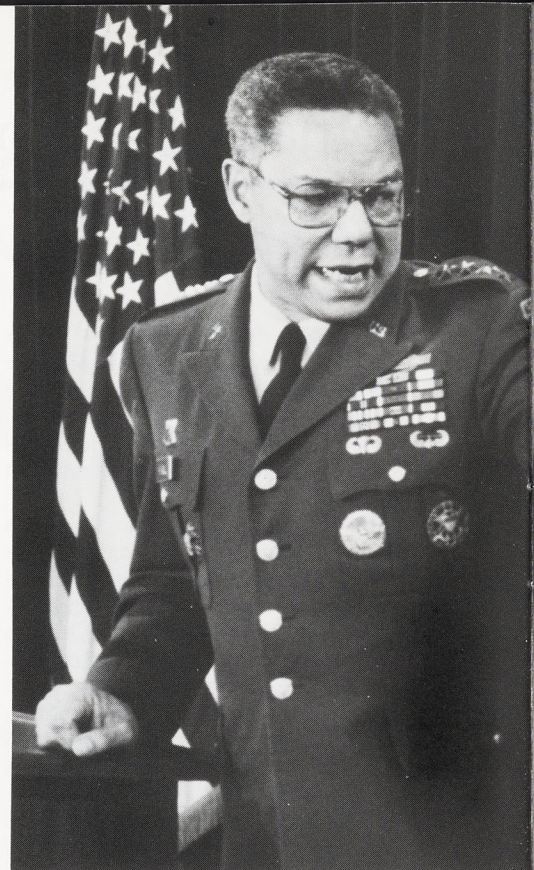
The Pentagon pool arrangement was tested during a number of small-scale operations, chiefly in Central America, but the 1989 invasion of Panama was its first real dry run. The military transport that flew the pool to cover the invasion was more than five hours late. Subsequently, the DOD's own investigations concluded that Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney had decided not to activate the Pentagon's new pool in time for them to reach Panama City; Cheney also quashed an Army plan to set up a pool consisting of reporters already in Panama at the time of the invasion. When reporters finally arrived in Panama City, military escorts barred them from the scene of the fighting. When the bulk of the press corps arrived to relieve the pool, they too were confined to a local military base.

It was a public relations debacle. Once again the Pentagon appointed a military public affairs officer to conduct the post-mortem. Fred S. Hoffman, a Reagan-appointed spokesman in the Department of Defense, made seventeen recommendations, arguing for less military surveillance of the press and stressing the importance of media coverage of military operations. He called on Assistant Secretary of Defense Pete Williams to "weigh in aggressively" with Cheney and General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, if "secrecy or other obstacles" blocked dispatches from combat. As after Grenada, press leaders failed to follow and make certain that DOD's own recommendations were implemented.

New Plans

Late last summer, Williams began to make preparations for handling press

Associated Press



Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell points to Iraqi bases at Washington briefing.

coverage of events in the Gulf. On August 13, he ordered six press officers to accompany a seventeen-member press pool to Dhahran. The officers were charged with setting up a Joint Information Bureau (JIB) in Saudi Arabia...

Meanwhile, in Washington, a crisis was mounting with the Saudis, who were refusing to allow the second wave of journalists to enter the country. Saudi intransigence critically altered the bargaining balance between the press and the Pentagon. Faced with an implacable third party, the team sent to bargain for the press was squeezed into an uncomfortable alliance with Williams and the Pentagon. On October 9 Michael Getler, assistant managing editor of *The Washington Post*, sent letters to Williams and Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, the Saudi ambassador to the United States, asking the Saudis to reverse their policy of issuing only one visa per news organization. Editors from *The Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek*, *The New York Times*, *Time*, and *The Wall Street Journal* co-signed the letter.

The Getler letter led to a meeting between the major print media, the television networks, and Williams in mid-October. The journalists' objectives were to scale down the "security review" and eliminate the requirement of military escorts. They ended up with neither. Negotiations over free access degenerated into a haggle over logistics. More visas were needed, and a guarantee of military transportation if fighting erupted in the region and commercial flights got



Associated Press

canceled. At the close of the session, Williams announced he was drawing up a new incarnation of the war pool but refused to discuss the matter until he had briefed Cheney and Powell.

"Another Grenada"

The next meeting was held on November 28. Getler told Williams that the assembled journalists sensed "another Grenada and Panama in the works." They felt that plans for combat coverage of a war in the Gulf were "gravely off-track." Although all present admired Williams' patience, Getler said, "We are not convinced that you can persuade Cheney, Powell, or Schwarzkopf of the importance of independent journalism once the shooting starts." Getler was right. During this and future meetings, Williams worked through four drafts of ground rules with press representatives. He noted their complaints, and reassured them that he wanted to get out of the pool business as much as they did. Williams pledged to placate the Saudis and set things straight with Cheney and Powell. Williams, as understanding as a good therapist, urged the media to bide their time.

Early drafts of Williams' plan divided a possible war into three phases, with the third phase allowing for independent coverage and the dissolution of the war pool. This third phase was where the Pentagon's system had failed in Panama: after the first twenty-four hours the rank-and-file press corps had not been permitted to relieve the temporary war pools. When copies of the ground rules came back from CENTCOM in January, all mention of a third phase had vanished.

Promises Forgotten

After the air bombardments of Baghdad started in mid-January, Williams continued to promise that, when the land war began, access to the front would improve. But that never happened. The Pentagon announced that those who went off on their own to the front would be brought back forcibly to Dhahran and stripped of their credentials.

Whatever the demerits of the pool system, the press was outflanked by the Pentagon, and should learn from the

mistake. Howell Raines, who sat in on the negotiations for *The New York Times*, puts the denouement succinctly: "We lost. They managed us completely. If it were an athletic contest, the score would be 100-to-1." Stanley Cloud, Washington bureau chief of *Time*, concedes: "Throughout the long evolution of the Department of Defense pool, the press willingly, passively, and stupidly went along with it. That is the original sin which got us where we are, and I don't blame anybody as much as I blame us."



Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams defending restrictions on press during Senate hearing.

. . . to be fair as possible . . .

By Pete Williams

Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs

From statements by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs to the National Press Club and from earlier Senate testimony.

No doubt about it, pools rub reporters the wrong way. But there simply was no way for us to open up a rapidly moving front to reporters roaming the battlefield.

We believe the pool system did three things. It got reporters out to see the action; it guaranteed that Americans at home got reports from the scene of the action; and it allowed the military to accommodate a reasonable number of journalists without overwhelming the units that were fighting the enemy.

Now that the whole operation is just about over and the U.S. troops are starting to come home, it's clearly time to look back. And as I review our own arrangements, there are obviously some things that we could have done much better. And here are some preliminary observations.

We could have done a better job of helping reporters in the field. Judging from what I've heard from the reporters who went out on pools, those I've heard from so far, we had some outstanding escorts, but we must improve that process. Escort officers should not throw themselves in front of the camera when

one of the troops utters a forbidden word, as happens on that piece of ABC news tape from last fall that is shown every time there's a program about the press. (Laughter.) I hope the oxide has worn off that tape by now.

We need to teach public affairs personnel how to do their job so that reporters won't feel that their interview subjects are intimidated.

Our first obligation is to get reporters out with the action, so that journalists are eyewitnesses to history. Now I've seen some excellent examples of that...

But we must do better at getting the stories back to the press center. Now some units did very well using computer modems and tactical telephone fax machines. The Marines seemed to be best at using technology of the 1990's to get their stories back.

Others did not do nearly as well. I've heard from reporters who said their stories were delayed for several days, and we need to do better.

Several bureau chiefs told me last fall that in planning for the war coverage, the security of reporters was their concern and not mine. But I don't think that's realistic, because I couldn't ignore that even if I wanted to. It is not morally possible.

We were on the phone to CBS News nearly every day that Bob Simon was missing — and thank God that his crew is safe and sound, he and his crew. And when a group of U.S. journalists was captured in Iraq after the cease-fire, after the temporary suspension of offensive operations, four news industry executives wrote to the President saying that no U.S. forces should withdraw from Iraq until the issue of the journalists was resolved.

Now, the issue was raised by the U.S. government, with the Iraq representative in Washington, with its ambassador at the United Nations, with an intermediary in the Soviet government, and with the International Red Cross, and at two meetings between the U.S. and Iraqi military officials in the Gulf.



Associated Press

Williams delivers Pentagon briefing.

Everyone in this room is relieved that they are free, but we must drop the pretense that the safety of journalists is not the government's concern.

Now, there are undoubtedly more lessons to be learned from the journalists who covered the war themselves. I've heard from a few of them already, and I'm sending a letter to every reporter who took part in the pool, asking every reporter's criticisms, observations and suggestions. And I will soon arrange to meet with the bureau chiefs of Washington news organizations to continue the discussions that we've been having since last fall.

Whatever else the press arrangements in the Persian Gulf may have been, they were a good faith effort on the part of the military to be as fair as possible to the large number of reporters on the scene. They were a good-faith effort to get as many reporters as possible out with the troops during a highly mobile modern

ground war, and they were a good-faith effort to allow as much freedom in reporting as possible while still preventing the enemy from knowing what we were up to. This was, after all, an enemy that had virtually as much access to American news reporting as people here at home.

Another part of the reason for the military's high credibility, I think, is that Secretary Dick Cheney and General Colin Powell made the decision that we would say only what we knew to be true. We were careful not to get out ahead of our successes. We waited for initial field reports to be confirmed. Even in the first few days of the air campaign in January, when the coalition aircraft losses appeared to be very light, we cautioned reporters about saying that it would be easy.

Now, Washington loves to talk about "spin control" — this is the first government operation I can remember that had "euphoria control."

But tough questions are fair game.

Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU



**ON JANUARY 16,
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UNDERSTOOD WHY.**



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Time Magazine
Feb. 11, 1991

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Los Angeles Times

Press pools on the verge of collapse
As the Persian Gulf war drags on, journalists grow tired of sitting in hotels, getting once-a-day briefings from the military personnel

War desks ready
General news wire services put them into action for the first time since the Vietnam War

Senate to begin hearings on media access to war news

Press restrictions in Persian Gulf

War information hearings
Journalists, congressmen, military officers discuss coverage of the Persian Gulf war

Trouble among the press ranks
News organizations blame each other for some of the problems with the press pools in the Persian Gulf

Getting the word out the first night
Base maintenance officer helped press pool find a phone to the world that the Persian Gulf air attack had begun

Another week of dissatisfaction
Press pool system overhaul promised as military, media and politicians continue to bicker

Pentagon prepares the press for war
Defense Dept. says reporters on the front lines in move on wait must be in shape; copy guidelines are also issued

War coverage
Newspaper editors are divided on the amount of war coverage readers should receive

Protesting the Gulf ground rules
Congressman wants military regulations for the press reviewed. Sydney Schanberg, several publications challenge rules in a

Tracking Iraqi disinformation
It's the U.S. Information Agency's job to counter it

Clampdown — then the good
Military delays early media reports on initial ground war, then holds press briefings to report U.S. battle

Persian Gulf coverage and the "Vietnam hangover"
Naval official says military censorship is getting a bum rap

Press pools — the military's view
Persian Gulf press pool coordinator details how the pools put together; says it's hard to please all reporters right

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Journalists beaten by Iraqi soldiers
Reuters photographer and others fleeing Baghdad are accused of spying, threatened with execution

Missing in Iraq
New York Times reporter among at least 28 journalists who have not been heard from since they were last seen in Iraq

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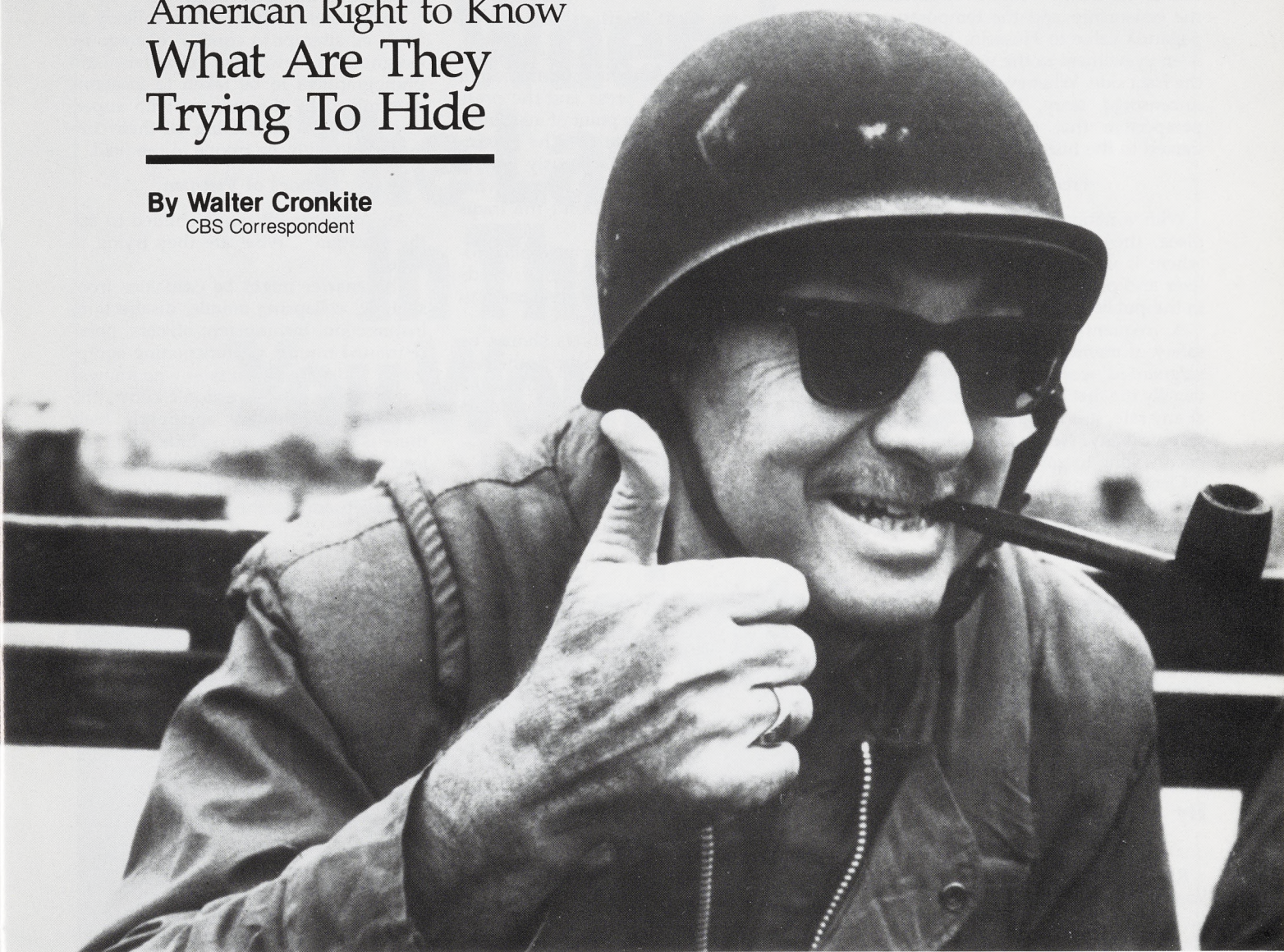
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Missing in Iraq
New York Times reporter among at least 28 journalists who have not been heard from since they were last seen in Iraq



The Military is Trampling on the American Right to Know What Are They Trying To Hide

By **Walter Cronkite**
CBS Correspondent



CBS

Walter Cronkite with U.S. forces in Vietnam.

From a Newsweek article and Senate testimony by veteran CBS correspondent Walter Cronkite.

WASHINGTON - With an arrogance foreign to the democratic system, the U.S. military in Saudi Arabia is trampling on the American people's right to know.

...We had better darn well know what they are doing in our name.

After World War II, most of the German people protested that they did not know what went on in the heinous Nazi concentration camps. It is just possible that they did not. But this claim of ignorance did not absolve the German people from blame.

And why not? Because they complacently permitted Hitler to do his dirty business in the dark. They raised little objection, most even applauded, when he closed their newspapers and clamped down on free speech. When they did

that, they became responsible for what he did in their name.

Certainly our leaders are not to be compared with Hitler, but today, because of onerous, unnecessary rules, the American people are not being permitted to see and hear the full story of what their military forces are doing in the action that will reverberate long into the nation's future.

Discredited Pentagon Myth

The military is acting on a generally discredited Pentagon myth that the Vietnam War was lost because of the uncensored press coverage of it, particularly television's bloody battle scenes piped directly into American homes.

First, there should be censorship of all dispatches, film and tape, leaving the battle area. The security of the troops must be protected against inadvertent

disclosure of vital information about particular weaponry, disposition of forces, tactical plans, and the like.

In most cases in World War II, the press material was sent by courier back to division headquarters where a designated intelligence officer cleared it for transmission back to wherever the communications facilities were...

Expeditious Censorship

Such censorship must be as expeditious as it was in World War II. Dispatches and pictures must be cleared as quickly as possible. But there is no harm in a brief delay. It would be a rare, almost unimaginable case, where even a delay of a day or two or three would make any difference in the public's knowledge of the war's progress.

And even if the stories or the pictures are held up for legitimate security

reasons until after the war's end, they still have served an essential purpose in documenting the history of the event.

(Indeed this is one of the great values in having a press representative from our side in the enemy's capital. Regardless of the censorship and the temporary propaganda value to Hussein, Peter Arnett is an eyewitness to the war as seen from the Iraqi side. Whenever he can write the uncensored story, he will provide a perspective that otherwise would be denied to the historians.)

Free The Press

With a national censorship system in place, the press should be free to go where it wants when it wants, to see, hear and photograph what it believes is in the public interest.

A frequent military excuse that the safety of members of the press must be safeguarded won't wash. Safety is not usually the first concern of the press and, at any rate, it is theirs, not the military's, responsibility. News people always have been willing to go where danger is.

Clearly the number of correspondents wandering freely behind the lines must be controlled, but this was easily handled

in World War II by the simple expedient of accreditation and, as long as this is liberal for established reporters of major organizations, the public's rights are protected.

Gulf Briefings

The military has the further responsibility of giving all the information it possibly can to the press and the press has every right, to the point of insolence, to demand this information. The Persian Gulf briefings are ridiculously inadequate. Why should we not be told what bridges have been hit? Don't the Iraqis know?

It is true that the briefers are limited today by the knowledge that their words are being carried directly by television to Baghdad. That is a mistake.

Material from the briefings should be subject to the same censorship as the battlefield reports. Coverage would be delayed but of what serious consequence is that?

Live Coverage

It is the threat of live television war coverage that has confused the military

attempts to control the Persian Gulf coverage. It would be helpful if all sides, including the television managements themselves, simply agreed that this is not an issue; that there is no question of live coverage of the battlefield...

The greatest mistake of our military so far is its attempt to control coverage by assigning a few pool reporters and photographers to be taken to locations determined by the military with supervising officers monitoring all their conversations with the troops in the field.

Echoes of Vietnam

An American citizen is entitled to ask the question: "What are they trying to hide?"

The answer might be casualties from shelling, collapsing morale, disaffection, insurrection, incompetent officers, poorly trained troops, malfunctioning equipment, widespread illness — who knows?

But the fact that we don't know, the fact that the military apparently feels there is *something* it must hide, can only lead eventually to a breakdown in home-front confidence and the very echoes from Vietnam that the Pentagon fears the most.

... Schwarzkopf stepped in — the briefings improved

By Jim Adams

Reuters Correspondent

RIYADH — Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf took quick action when his nightly Gulf War news briefings in Riyadh started to look like a rerun of the combative Vietnam War's "Five O'Clock Follies."

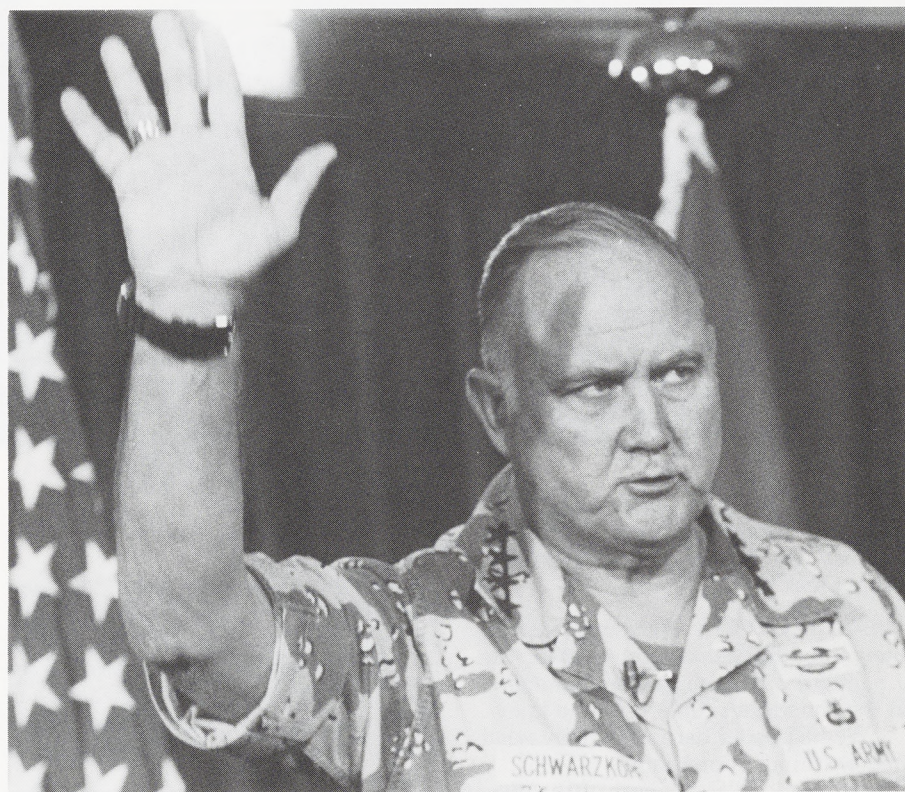
Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the Gulf, watched from his headquarters as reporters dominated most of the Friday Feb. 1 briefing with complaints about the stringent restrictions placed upon their coverage of the war.

After the globally-televised briefing concluded, the general called in a group of reporters to find out what they wanted changed.

The next day, the reporters and Schwarzkopf's press officers worked out expanded press briefing arrangements that by and large ended complaints about the Riyadh briefings.

Essentially, what Schwarzkopf's press officers and reporters worked out was the addition of two daily U.S. background meetings. These were on top of the nightly televised briefings.

The press officers also promised to provide more answers to queries between



General Schwarzkopf in Riyadh briefing on first day of ground war.

briefings, particularly on major stories.

Another improvement was that briefings would be conducted by some of Schwarzkopf's top generals, especially Marine Brig. Gen. Richard Neal.

The press corps had been upset by the overcaution exercised by lower-ranking briefers, one of whom made the dubious claim that the weather was a military secret.

There had been other problems. U.S. and Saudi press officers refused for more than 16 hours to confirm whether the war's first major ground fighting was still going on at Khafji, even though Saudi troops were succeeding in driving Iraqi invaders out of the border town.

Only history will be able to assess how thorough and accurate the Gulf War's U.S. briefings were.

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Advertising Age
ИСТОЧНИК НАДЕЖНЫХ СОВЕТОВ
ПО МАРКЕТИНГУ



Beyond the fear and the tedium and the difficulty of getting the story: The Burden of Being Female

By **Maria Wilhelm**
People Magazine

(Dispatch filed prior to cease fire).

DHAHRAN, Saudi Arabia — In late February, 40 journalists, stymied for weeks by military regulations on covering the Gulf War, assembled in the lobby of the Dhahran International Hotel, finally given permission to take up positions with front-line combat units — with Army engineers clearing mines, with Marines clearing a path to Kuwait, with the historic 1st Calvary poised to cross the border. For weeks, the dominant emotion among reporters had been frustration. Now, for many, it was fear.

"It gets you right down deep," says CNN camerawoman Jane Evans. "You can feel the dread and the anxiety and the excitement. On the one hand, you want to be an observer — to do the job you're being paid to do — on the other, you're not quite ready to knock on heaven's door."

How could a beat be more difficult? Here, reporters work with a feeling of danger, sometimes remote and sometimes urgent. Here, the comforts of society have been withdrawn and replaced by rigid social and religious rules. Here, squeezing information from sources is as difficult as squeezing water from desert sand. And add to the inherent challenges the fact that you're a woman, limited in your movements and behavior, outnumbered and often dependent on men.

"Sorority of Sorts"

Female correspondents, technical crew and staff make up less than ten percent of the 911 journalists registered at the "JIB," the military's Joint Information Bureau on the third floor of the Dhahran International. Women account for eight to ten percent of the 150 journalists in the field. And that despite what print pool coordinator Nicholas Horrock, the *Chicago Tribune's* Washington bureau chief, sees as the "tremendous advantages of a woman correspondent. She's usually less involved in the male bonding, macho thing in the field and can be more detached about what she covers."

The women journalists in Dhahran have formed a sorority of sorts, a sisterhood that swaps stories and offers advice. There's always a hotel room to crash when you're stranded at 3 a.m. at



PEOPLE Magazine correspondent Maria Wilhelm (above) in cockpit of jet in Saudi Arabia.



Carey Goldberg, Los Angeles Times, in front of wailing wall in Jerusalem.

the International and can't get a taxi back to your own hotel or a man to drive you. There's always someone to grouse with over the often irritating restrictions we're subject to. The prohibition on driving is one. "The fact I can't drive makes me nuts," says Susan La Salla, Miami bureau chief for NBC and a field producer here. MaryAnne Golon, a picture editor at *Time* magazine, did take a spin in a borrowed four-wheel drive and was trailed by police. Furthermore, in Riyadh, the more restrictive Saudi

capital, women aren't allowed to share the back seat of a taxi with a man. He has to sit up front with the driver.

Forced to Wear Robe

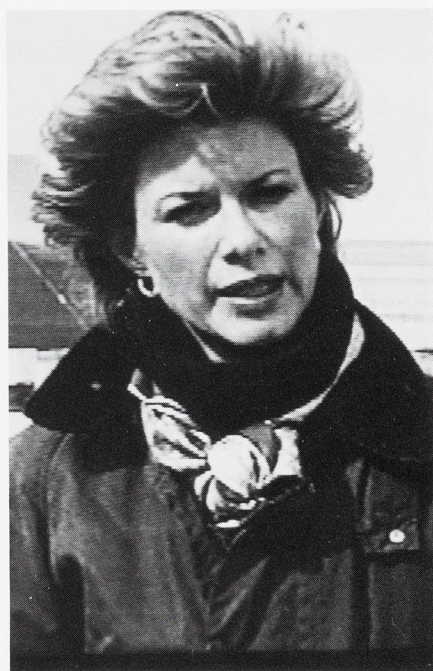
The dress code is stringent too in this male-dominated country. After an interview in Riyadh, I went to observe the people in a local mall. I was conservatively dressed in a skirt and stockings, but within five minutes, I was stopped by the "matawain," or holy police. They forced

Ken Regan/Camera 5 for PEOPLE

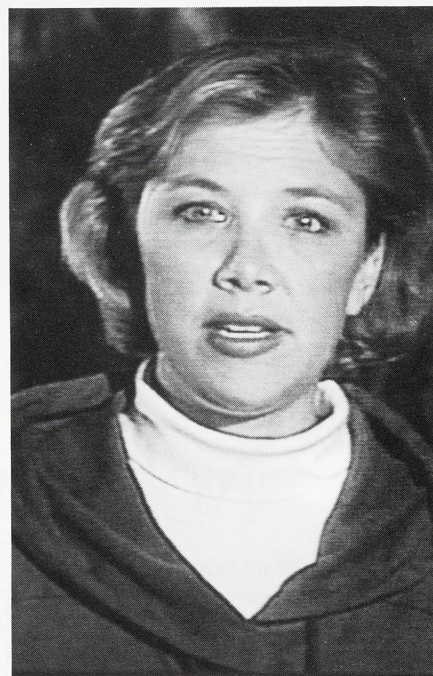
Los Angeles Times



CNN correspondent Christiane Amanpour is helped into equipment for pool reporting by Army 1st Lt. Charles Hoskinson.



ABC correspondents Shiela MacVikar (above) and Linda Patillo (below) while on assignment in Saudi Arabia.



me to buy a black robe because I was "uncovered".

But much more frustrating than regulations on dress or driving is the fact that women have no authority in Saudi society. La Salla was in charge of the NBC office one day when she says, "one of our Arab allies asked to speak to the 'man' in charge." The visitor insisted that he needed to speak to the boss despite La Salla's assurances that she was running the shop. "I put my hand on my rather ample hip and said, 'You got her,

chump.' I'm sure the first thing he did after he left was to go to a dictionary and look up 'chump.' "

Hindered By Military

Gender is also a hindrance in dealing with the U.S. military. Public information officers parrot the "bottom line," that "women under U.S. law are not allowed in combat," despite the fact that we're journalists, not soldiers. "I'm reminded constantly that I'm a woman,"

notes CNN's Evans, who has been in Dhahran since August. "Because of my sex I've been told there might not be a berth for me on an aircraft carrier or that the Marines won't allow me to go on an amphibious landing."

While male reporters worry about finding flak jackets and Kevlar helmets, packing chem suits and camouflage, we cope with trickier logistics. Beyond the fear and the tedium and the difficulty of getting the story, there's the burden of being female.



“This wasn't the first time they had hauled a chemical in a tanker truck that was to be used only for food-grade liquids. They didn't like it, but they had their orders.”

"Chemicals Ride The Food Chain" by James Wallace
SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER
A Hearst Newspaper

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Iraqi anti-aircraft fire lights up the night sky over Baghdad, January 17, during the first allied raid—de Noirmont.



Bernd Debusmann: Another reason to subscribe to Reuters.

When war breaks out, Reuters turns to reporters like Bernd Debusmann.

A Reuter correspondent for 25 years, Bernd has reported from the battle zones in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Iran/Iraq, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, Angola and Eritrea. He spent almost eight years in the Middle East, five as bureau chief in Beirut.

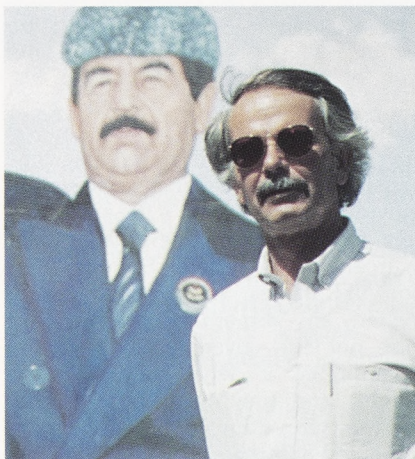
He's been shot twice in the line of duty. There's still a bullet lodged in his back from a Syrian hit squad attempt on his life.

"When you cover wars and revolutions for over two decades, on four continents in over 80 countries, you're bound to run into some trouble now and then."

Naturally, Bernd was in Baghdad on assignment the night the allied bombing began.

As Diplomatic Correspondent—America,

Bernd Debusmann reports and analyzes globally significant news events in the Western hemisphere. With his vast



experience and talent, he brings a unique perspective to the Reuter News Report.

"I work for Reuters because they give me the freedom to be impartial, to cover both sides of a story. The Persian Gulf War is the perfect example, and that's all a journalist can ask for."

Everyone who works for Reuters is dedicated to getting the story behind the story. That's why we reported that Iraq had invaded Kuwait 42 minutes before anybody else did.

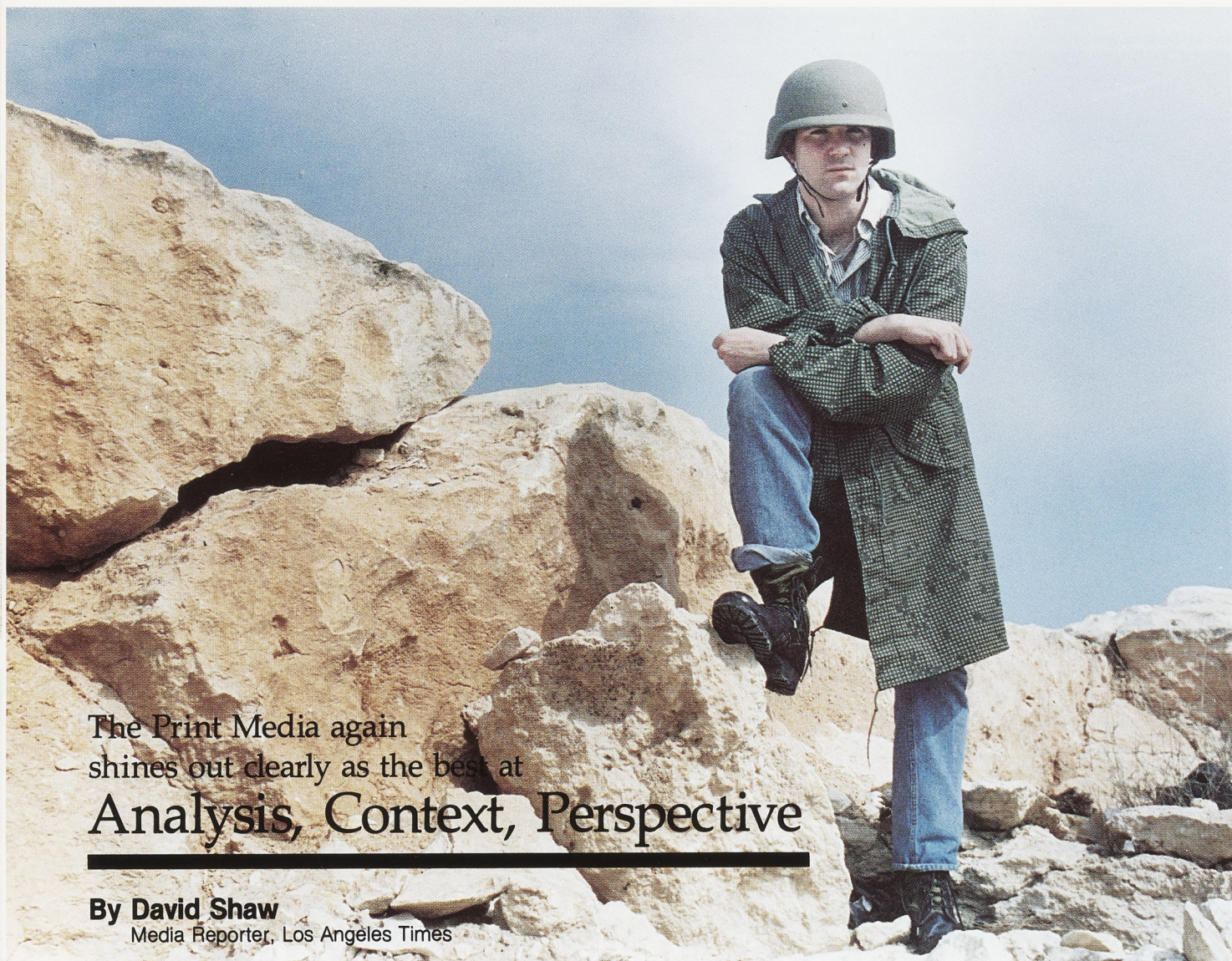
Bernd Debusmann is another outstanding example of Reuters commitment to the finest in news reporting.

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The Print Media again
shines out clearly as the best at
Analysis, Context, Perspective

By David Shaw

Media Reporter, Los Angeles Times

Detroit Free Press

Frank Bruni, Detroit Free Press, in Saudi desert.

LOS ANGELES — From the moment CNN began broadcasting its exclusive live coverage of the bombing raids over Baghdad when war broke out in the Persian Gulf, Cassandras in the newspaper profession began bemoaning anew the imminent demise of the print press.

Television could get the news to the consumer so much faster, they said. Television is so much more dramatic, they said. Television has so much more personal immediacy, they said.

Well, yes. And no. Of course, television is faster and more dramatic, more personal and more immediate than newspapers. And on a story like the gulf war, television was able to capitalize on those strengths. In fact, many print journalists—like many government officials—learned much of what they knew about the progress of the war from watching CNN. And yet, some of the best stories of the war appeared first in newspapers, not television. My own paper, the *Los Angeles Times*, broke several of them—including the first story on the United States withholding identification codes that might have permitted Israeli planes to enter the air war.

What Newspapers Do Best

But what newspapers do best in this electronic era is not so much break stories as explain them. Print media are still considerably better than television when it comes to analysis, context and perspective, and they proved that again and again once the bombs began to fall. That's one reason that, despite all the justifiable attention CNN received, newspaper circulation—and news magazine newsstand sales—also increased significantly during the war. It's the same way every football season; newspaper sales go up the Monday after Sunday afternoon NFL games. When people are interested in something, they want more—not less—coverage. They want to be confirmed in what they saw and thought, and they want insights into what they didn't think of because they're not trained observers.

TV's Biases

Television kept hauling out all these retired generals to explain what was really happening and why, but it was reporters writing for newspapers who of-

fered the better explanations (although some newspapers, including my own, also used retired generals as experts). Of course, government restrictions and censorship and the largely unproductive pool arrangements deprived reporters of a great deal of first-hand knowledge, so there wasn't always much to analyze. That was a greater burden for television than for print reporters; television reporters are on right now, with all that air time to fill, so they have to say something. In the early stages of the war in particular, when so little was known, newscasters tended to repeat endlessly what little they did know and to speculate endlessly what little they didn't know. Moreover, television has several built-in biases—for a story with pictures, for live coverage, for reporting what just happened, against "talking heads." These biases often undermine the good coverage television provides. I saw one broadcast in which the anchor said he was showing footage just released by Baghdad, though he didn't know just what it was. So why show it?

Newspaper reporters, columnists and editorialists at least have the luxury of a



Knight-Ridder

(Clockwise) Ricardo Ferro, St. Petersburg Times, and Akira Suwa, Philadelphia Inquirer, with Iraqi tank in Kuwait; Judith Miller, New York Times, in Israel; Patrick Down, Los Angeles Times, (L) with USMC Warrant Officer Charlie Rowe at oil well fires in Kuwait.



New York Times



Los Angeles Times

few hours reflection before sharing their relative ignorance with the news consumer.

I don't mean to suggest that newspapers performed flawlessly during the war. Far from it. I saw too many stories, especially in the early stage, that seemed to accept at face value whatever optimistic report the government gave. I also saw a disquieting double standard—a tendency to pay far more attention to relatively few Allied or Israeli casualties than to the much greater number of Iraqi casualties. Worse, I repeatedly winced at the ignorant and needlessly belligerent questions asked by many reporters, print and broadcast alike, during the military briefings in Washington and Riyadh.

These questions, more than anything else, may have contributed to the widespread public hostility toward the press during the war. This was the first war in which television viewers could watch print reporters ask questions of

their sources every day, several times a day. It wasn't a pretty picture. But that's because newsgathering is often not a pretty process. Indeed, like the making of sausage and legislation, no matter how good the ultimate product, there's something about the newsgathering process that can be distinctly unpleasant to watch. But most news consumers don't know that. All they know is that over breakfast and dinner and before bedtime, they saw reporters who didn't know a BDA from an ERA badgering seemingly well-meaning military officials about seemingly inconsequential inconsistencies.

"Why don't you leave them alone and let them do their jobs?" people seemed to be asking.

Rough Edges Showed

But it is the journalist's job to ask questions—and not necessarily either politely or respectfully. Polite, respectful questions often get dodged or ignored. Sam

Donaldson aside, most television reporters, long accustomed to having their newsgathering monitored by the viewer, have learned to provide at least a veneer of politeness to their inquiries so the viewer won't think them biased, stupid, callous or contentious. Except for Presidential news conferences, however, when most reporters are on their best behavior—difficult though that may be for some viewers to believe—print reporters are more accustomed to questioning their sources one on one in an office (or a bar) with no one watching. So their rough edges showed more during the gulf war briefings. Some were more bellicose than circumstances warranted. Maybe next time, they'll be a bit more polished. But for all our sakes, I hope that polish doesn't eliminate their skepticism, tenacity and aggressiveness. Surrendering those qualities would do far more damage to newspapers than censorship, CNN, ABC, CBS and NBC combined.

ON FEBRUARY 26, 1991,
A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE GLAD
THERE WAS MORE THAN ONE SOURCE



AFP/Christophe Simon



TEXT AND PHOTO

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OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA, INC

AWARDS 1991

Reporting on turmoil in Europe and the Middle East kept most of the Overseas Press Club entrants busy last year. While datelines ranged from the tip of South America to the wilds of China, the journalistic battlegrounds were, in the main, where conflicts between governments and their people raged most often. But since suffering seems to know no boundary, reporters covered the globe as never before to inform us about the human condition. Even in Albania, the curtain screening news of the outside world fell.

Nearly 400 entries submitted in 16 categories to the Overseas Press Club reflected close to 100 different datelines. Behind the entries were noble efforts by men and women correspondents and photographers who often risked their lives to deliver clear and concise stories.

Nearly 40 judges devoted days to careful reading of the entries, some multi-part series of more than 10,000 words. What impressed the judges most was not the sheer volume nor length of the submissions, but the overall effort by these journalists to give their readers and viewers some perspective on what far-away events really meant back home.

As always, these awards pay tribute to the journalists who work so diligently, often under trying conditions, to bring the truth to us. The Overseas Press Club is proud to recognize their accomplishments.

Allan Dodds Frank
OPC Awards Chairman

J U D G E S

CLASS 1 & 2

Richard Phalon
Chairman
Nancy Hoepli
Joel Millman
Jinny St. Goar

CLASS 3 & 4

Hal Buell
Chairman
Jim Dooley
Brent Peterson

CLASS 5 & 6

Dr. Gene Sosin
Chairman
William Kratch
Nicholas Pentcheff

CLASS 7 & 8

David Shefrin
Chairman
Marlene Sanders
Arthur Unger

CLASS 9 & 10

Alfred Balk
Chairman
R. Edward Jackson
John Polich

CLASS 11

John Prescott
Chairman
James Donna
William McBride
Michael Pakenham

CLASS 12-A MAGAZINES

Elmer Lower
Chairman
Bob Dallos
Roy Rowan

CLASS 12-B NEWSPAPERS and WIRE SERVICES

Elmer Lower
Chairman
Myron Kandel
Roy Rowan

CLASS 13

Ralph Gardner
Chairman
Jean Baer
Rosalie Brody
Fran Carpentier
Ralph Gardner, Jr.
Grace Shaw

CLASS 14

Julia Edwards
Chairman
Henrietta Brackman
Anita Diamant

CLASS 15

William Holstein
Chairman
Allen Alter
Jacqueline Simon

CLASS 16

Charles Schreiber
Chairman
R. Edward Jackson
Andrew Nibley



C L A S S 1

The Hal Boyle Award, best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad.

Honorarium: \$1000
from AT&T

Geraldine Brooks and
Tony Horwitz,
The Wall Street Journal
for Persian Gulf Coverage

Scholarship, leg work and a knack for chilling detail marked the *Wall Street Journal's* coverage of the Persian Gulf last year. Brooks and Horwitz cannily predicted

that Saddam Hussein's Baathist dream of Arab unity could ultimately tear Iraq apart.

The Journal team gave life to Iraq's economic problems by interviewing Kurdish smugglers swapping mule loads of flour for color TVs. They reported that Baghdad was "so thick with informers and secret police that no conversation is without fear."

CLASS 1 - CITATION

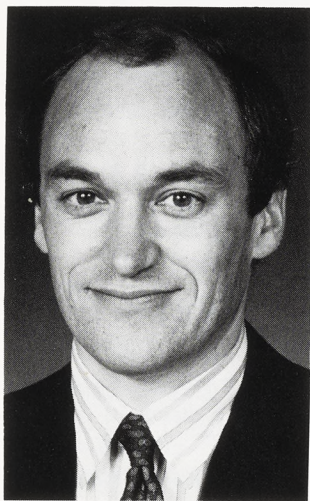
Serge Schmemmann,
New York Times
"Germany"

Michael Dobbs,
The Washington Post
"Collapse of the
Soviet Empire"

Following the wayward path of perestroika, Michael Dobbs took his readers from the oil fields of Siberia to the Mongolian border and back to the Kremlin. Dobbs recognized early that the centrifugal forces of nationalism in the republics and the "disruption of the old economic mechanisms" in the heartland would force Gorbachev to move to accommodate hardliners in the army and the KGB.

CLASS 2 - CITATION

Christopher Marquis
The Miami Herald
"Latin American Beat"



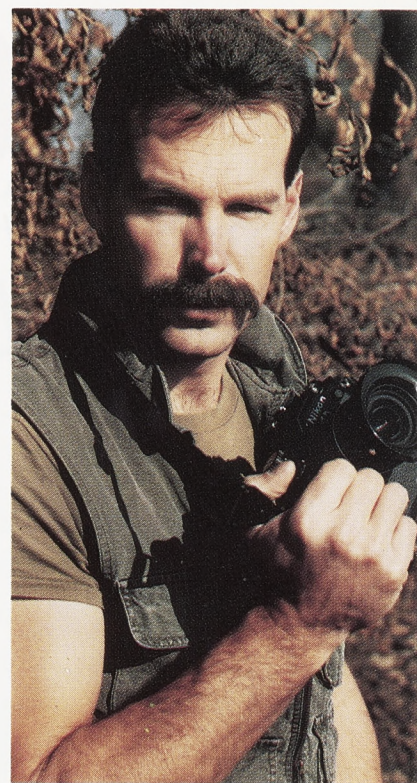
C L A S S 3

The Robert Capa Gold Medal, best photographic reporting or interpretation from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise.

Honorarium: \$1000
from LIFE

Bruce Haley
Black Star on assignment
for **U.S. News &
World Report**

Despite an extremely threatening situation, Bruce Haley stood his ground and, with a cool eye, brought home to the world the grim and bloody torture and execution of a Burmese suspected by police of collaborating with anti-government forces.





CLASS 4 A
The Olivier Rebbot Award,
best photographic reporting
from abroad for magazines
and books.

Honorarium: \$1000
from *Newsweek* Magazine

Christopher Morris
Black Star on assignment
for ***Time***

Morris toured the Globe in 1990 to produce compelling coverage, often under trying circumstances. Especially noteworthy were his photographs of the London Poll Tax strike and of the Liberian Civil War.

CLASS 4A - CITATION
James Nachtway,
Magnum for ***The New York Times***
Sunday Magazine
"Romania's Lost Children"



CLASS 4B

Best photographic reporting from abroad for newspapers and wire service.

Honorarium: \$1000 from Eastman Kodak Professional Products Division.

Greg Marinovich
Associated Press



Capturing the agonizing conflicts among South Africa's warring factions, Greg Marinovich stunned the world with his photographs of a Zulu supporter being set ablaze. Marinovich was there when members of the African National Congress attacked in Soweto and showed no bounds to their rage.



CLASS 4B - CITATION

Viorel Florescu,
Newsday

"Democracy Rally in Moscow"

CLASS 4B - CITATION

Sacha Zemlianichenko,
Associated Press

"Pictures from Romania"

CLASS 6

The Lowell Thomas Award,
best radio interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs.

Honorarium: \$1000 from Capitol Cities/ABC Inc.

Alex Chadwick
National Public Radio

"Natasia Dudinska:
Hope and Courage in
Czechoslovakia"



CLASS 5

The Ben Grauer Award, best radio spot-news reporting from abroad.

Rich Lamb, CBS Radio

"Rich Lamb in
Saudi Arabia"

As one of the first radio reporters in Saudi Arabia, Lamb brought to his audience the human side of war preparations. Ducking into camouflaged bunkers and hangars, Lamb portrayed the ominous wait that thousands of soldiers experienced while camped out as part of operation Desert Shield.



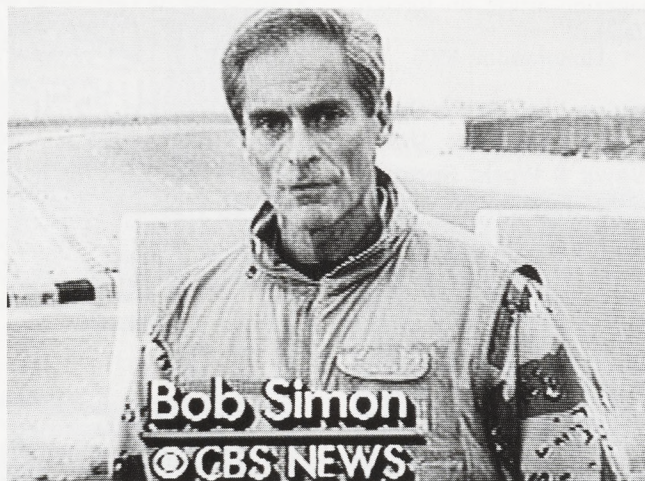


Remembering the old rule that a good story is worth retelling, Chadwick in January 1990 revisited areas he had covered during his daily reporting of Czechoslovakia's "Velvet Revolution" of November 1989. Touring the strike-torn streets of Prague, Chadwick conveyed the spontaneous excitement of the astonishing events that led to the replacement of the communist regime by a more democratically-inclined government.

CLASS 6 - CITATION

**Ed Hula,
Peach State
Public Radio**

"Nicaragua Journal: The Georgia Connection."



CLASS 7

Best television spot news reporting from abroad.

Bob Simon, CBS News
Brian Ross,
Correspondent,
Ira Silverman, Producer
NBC News

In his "Reports from the Frontline" from Saudi Arabia for *CBS Evening News* with Dan Rather, Bob Simon offered fresh, literate and incisive reporting from the Persian Gulf. The Award is based on Simon's reports from March through December, 1990 — before he was captured by Iraqi forces.

Sharing the Class 7 Award are Brian Ross and Ira Silverman, NBC's chief investigative duo, for their report on *NBC Nightly News* with Tom Brokaw titled "Nuclear Trigger." Ross and Silverman traced the clandestine efforts by Iraqi agents to obtain critical parts for the construction of nuclear weapons.

CLASS 8

The Edward R. Murrow, Award, best television interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs.

Honorarium: \$1000
from CBS

**Ted Koppel, Anchor and
Phyllis McGrady,**
Executive Producer
ABC News,
The Koppel Report
"Death of a Dictator."

This dramatic well documented story of the collapse of Romania's Dictator captured the confusion of history in the making by utilizing extraordinary home video shot by people inside government and revolutionary circles.



CLASS 8 - CITATION

**Peter Jennings and
ABC News:**

**Tom Yellin, Executive
Producer; Leslie
Cockburn and Stuart
Schwartz, Producers**

Two Documentaries
"A Line in the Sand" and
"From the Killing
Fields."



C L A S S 1 0
The Hallie and Whit Burnett Award, best general magazine article on foreign affairs.

Honorarium: \$500

Louise Lief, Brian Duffy and Colleagues, U.S. News & World Report.

"The World's Most Dangerous Man."

Two months before Iraq invaded Kuwait, *U.S. News and World Report* catalogued the potentially devastating arsenal Saddam Hussein had accumulated.



C L A S S 9
The Ed Cunningham Memorial Award, best magazine reporting from abroad.

Honorarium: \$1000
 from OPC Foundation

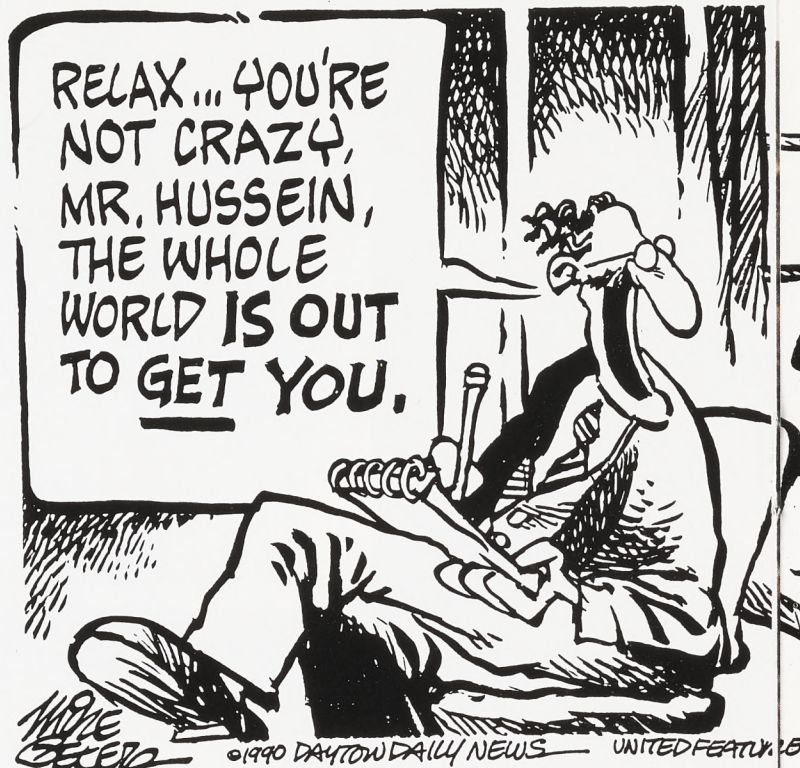
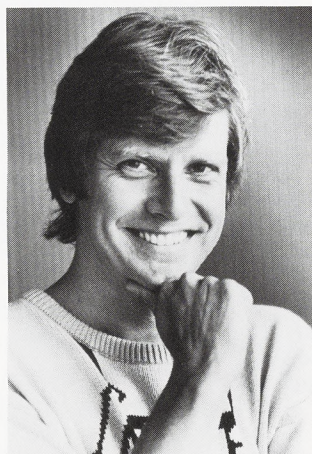
Peter McGrath and the Editors and Correspondents, Newsweek
 "The Gulf Crisis"

Four months before Iraqi tanks rolled over Kuwait, *Newsweek International* published a prescient three-part cover story headlined: "Iraq's Dark Night." It was one of 10 *Newsweek* covers capturing Saddam Hussein's menacing arms build-up, personality cult and patterns of aggression against his own people, Iran and, finally, Kuwait. Well-conceived and exhaustively reported, the series also presented an even-handed analysis of the cases to be made for — and against — a war by the United States on Iraq.

CLASS 9 - CITATION
Gustavo Gorriti, The New York Times
 "Terror in The Andes: Flight of the Ashanin."

The meticulously researched article highlighted the sources and methods that the Iraqis used to pursue the acquisition of unconventional weaponry for their war machine.

CLASS 10 - CITATION
Editors and Correspondents, Time Magazine
 "Man of the Decade"



Mr. Hussein's Neighborhood...



C L A S S 1 1
 Best cartoons on foreign affairs.

Honorarium: \$500
 from the *New York Daily News*

Mike Peters, The Dayton Daily News

Peters' direct artistic style and the pungency of his work impressed the judges. His cartoons carry their messages with sharp-edged irony and humor.



TK. B SYU.



FEATURE SYU — ©1990 DAYTON DAILY NEWS

CLASS 11 - CITATION

William Costello,
The Lowell Sun



CLASS 12 A
Morton Frank Award, best business and/or economic news reporting from abroad for magazines.

Honorarium: \$1,000
funded by his children

Fiammetta Rocco,
Institutional Investor.

"The Banker in
the Bunker."

This enterprising saga portrayed the life and times of a little-known hero in Lebanon, Edmond Niam, the 71-year-old head of that country's central bank. Surrounded by sandbags, the central bank chief coolly administers payrolls to all government employees — including both the Moslem and Christian brigades — and attempts to maintain a semblance of normalcy while his country crumbles around him.

CLASS12A-CITATION

David Fairlamb,
Institutional Investor

Three-part Series:
"Perestroika Imperiled;"
"The Privatizing of
Eastern Europe" and
"So Far, So Good"



CLASS 12 B
Best business and/or economic reporting from abroad for newspapers and/or wire services.

Honorarium: \$1000
from *Forbes Magazine*

James Risen,
The Los Angeles Times.

Series examining the
success of Japanese
automakers.

In reports from Japan and the United States, Risen authoritatively demonstrates why Japanese management policies and production techniques are keeping Japanese automakers ahead of their American competitors.

CLASS12B-CITATION

**Urban Lehrner and
Alan Murray,**
The Wall Street Journal

Five articles on the
Relationships between
the United States and
Japan.

CLASS 13

The Cornelius Ryan Award
best book on foreign affairs.

Honorarium: \$1000
from the

Anita Diamant Literary Agency

**Tad Szulc, William
Morrow & Company**

"Then and Now:

How the World Has
Changed Since World
War II."

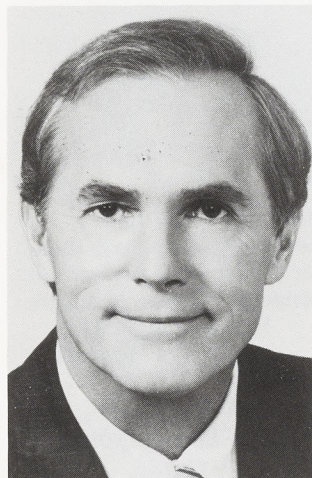
From the Amazon to Bhutan, longtime correspondent Tad Szulc has ranged the world, interviewing dozens of world leaders; thousands of ordinary folks. His collection of reminiscences, blends with his acute analysis of the world political situation. This book

combines the best personal observations with illuminating historical perspective.

CLASS 13 - CITATION

**Hedrick Smith,
Random House**

"The New Russians."



CLASS 14
The Madeline Dane Ross Award, the best foreign correspondent in any medium showing a concern for the human condition.

Honorarium: \$1000 from
The Madeline Dane Ross Fund

Tom Jarriel,
Correspondent and
Janice Tomlin,
Producer

ABC News' 20/20

"Nobody's Children:
The Shame of a Nation."

One hundred thousand neglected children; that's what Tom Jarriel and his crew from ABC News' 20/20 found after Romania's bloody revolution. In three graphic heartfelt reports last



year, 20/20 showed the world results of Dictator Nicolae Ceaucescu's abusive policies toward children, who were often stuffed into orphanages and asylums. By chronicling the personal pilgrimages of two American couples to rescue and adopt Romanian infants, Jarriel's reports spurred dozens of other American families to get involved in giving new hope to Ceaucescu's most innocent victims.

CLASS 14 - CITATION

**Debbie Sontag,
The Miami Herald**
Exposé of children in
Haiti victimized in inden-
tured servitude.

CLASS 15

The Eric and Amy Burger Award, best entry dealing with human rights.

Honorarium: \$1000
from the Burger Estate.

**Jon Sawyer, The St.
Louis Post-Dispatch**
"After Apartheid."

To probe the racial tensions gripping South Africa, Sawyer visited mines, schools, townships and many other institutions to examine why so many people of all descriptions worry about their futures. Sawyer found that, despite what appears on the surface to be



tremendous progress in the negotiations between the white government and the African National Congress, the people correctly perceive the pitfalls ahead. His reporting penetrated The African National Congress and its rivals as well as the conflict among the factions.

CLASS 15 - CITATION

Stone Phillips,
Correspondent, and
Jonathan Talmadge,
Producer,
ABC News' 20/20
"The Island of Lost
Souls"

A two-part series about the mistreatment of mental patients in Greece.

CLASS 16

Best reporting or interpretation in print by a foreign correspondent in the United States, for a publication outside the United States.

Honorarium: \$1000
from ITT Corporation.
No Award Presented for 1990

The President's Award

Presented by the President of the Overseas Press Club for distinguished service in the field of journalism.

Peter Amett
Cable News Network

In recognition of distinguished reporting from many parts of the world, including coverage of nearly a score of wars and conflicts, from Vietnam in the 1970s to Baghdad, Iraq, where for many days in early 1991, he provided consistently outstanding dispatches on life in the beleaguered nation.



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 THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

He has spent more time in combat than most of his pentagon critics have spent in the chow line, War Correspondent Peter Arnett: Few Do It Better

By Leon Daniel

UPI Chief Correspondent

Daniel, a competitor and long-time friend of Arnett, filed this commentary shortly after the war began.

DHAHRAN, Saudi Arabia — Anyone who believes that CNN correspondent Peter Arnett's reporting from Baghdad makes him an unwitting dupe of Saddam Hussein doesn't know the Pulitzer Prize-winning war correspondent.

Arnett is not your usual television talking head. He is balding rather than blow-

dried. On the air he sounds like a barking seal.

He can be abrasive, combative and just plain ornery when chasing the news, but few do it better.

Arnett has spent more time in combat than most of his critics in the Pentagon have in the chow line.

Some of his reports have irked the White House, but most of the grumbling comes from his network competitors.

NBC commentator John Chancellor said rather patronizingly that CNN serves Saddam's purposes "better than Iraq state radio, which can be jammed."

Reuven Frank, the former president of NBC News, said Arnett should remember that he is in Baghdad because he is "Saddam's channel to the United States and to everywhere else."

Such sour-grapes sniveling to the contrary notwithstanding, Arnett should be credited with a journalistic coup that benefits a worldwide television audience.

Watched Avidly

His reports, heavily censored by the Iraqi government, are watched avidly even by those who dismiss them as propaganda.

The Bush administration grumbles about Arnett's reporting, while it imposes its own brand of censorship on reports on the Persian Gulf war.

Nearly eight of 10 Americans support the Defense Department's restrictions on journalists covering the war, according to

a survey by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press.

Most surveyed said the military should exert "more control" over the media, prompting fears by some of a backlash against the media if American casualties increase.

When America goes to war, there are increasing pressures on the press to "get on the team."

That certainly was true in Vietnam, where Arnett won his Pulitzer as a correspondent for The Associated Press.

Press Corps Needs Mavericks

Armies need good "team players" but a press corps needs some mavericks to expose such tragedies as the My Lai massacre.

Some of the sharpest critics of the media are the Pentagon brass who still falsely blame the loss of the Vietnam War on the American press, rather than on ill-conceived strategy.

"It's the old case of wanting to shoot the messenger who brings bad news," said Jim Miller, a CNN producer who described Arnett as a "first-rate, first-class journalist who also can sometimes be a pain in the ass."

A quarter century ago, when Saigon was falling, Arnett smugly told some of his colleagues he was going to stay. Because he did, some of the rest of us did too, which meant the sad end of that long and bitter war did not go uncovered.

"It's The Labeling That Angers Me."

Peter Arnett writing in *The Washington Post*: "I know I have been criticized, and that many colleagues defended my network's decision to allow me to stay in Baghdad. For that I am sincerely grateful. Later, in consultation with my network, I intend to make a thorough examination of the criticism, and if necessary, a defense.

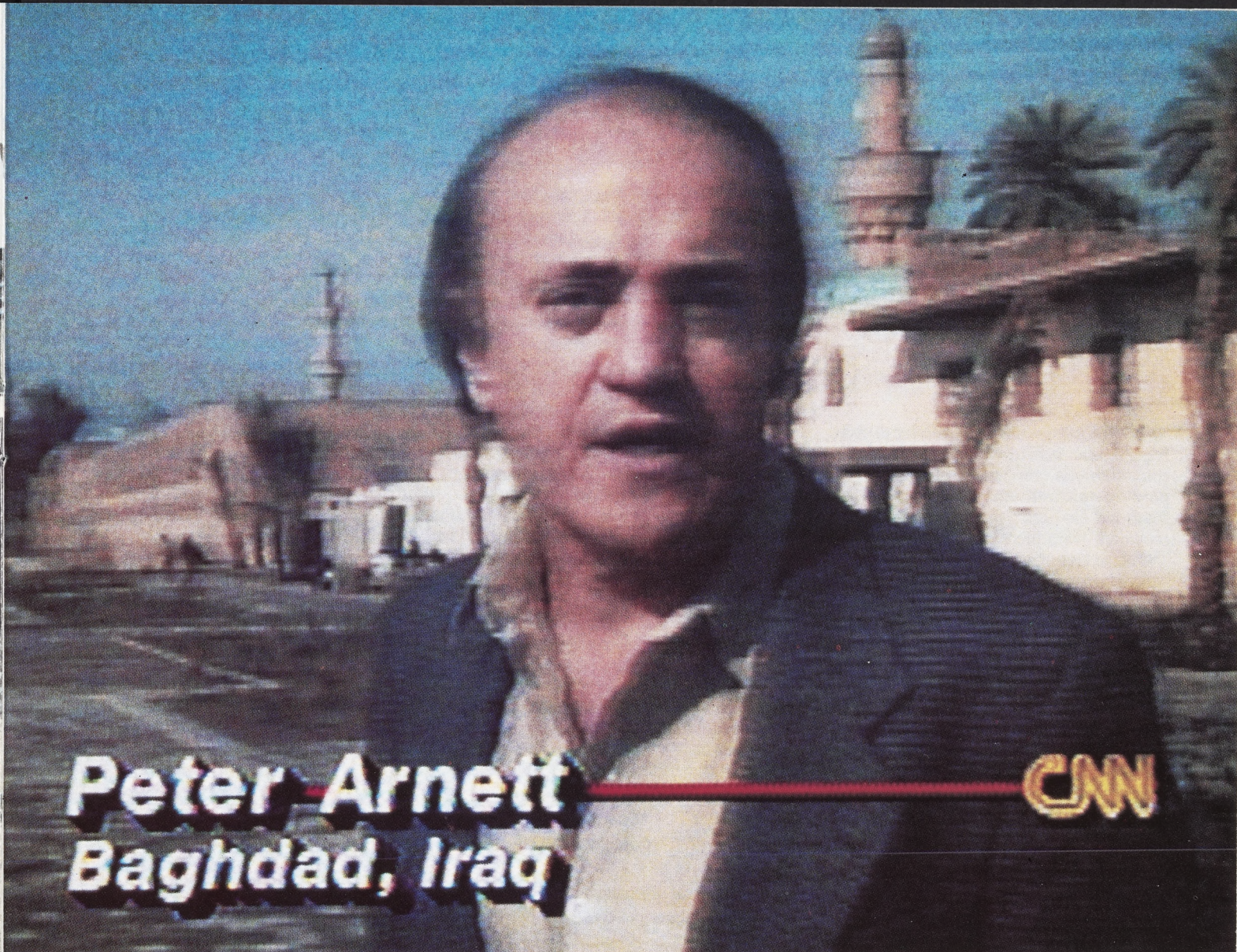


Leon Daniel in Dhahran

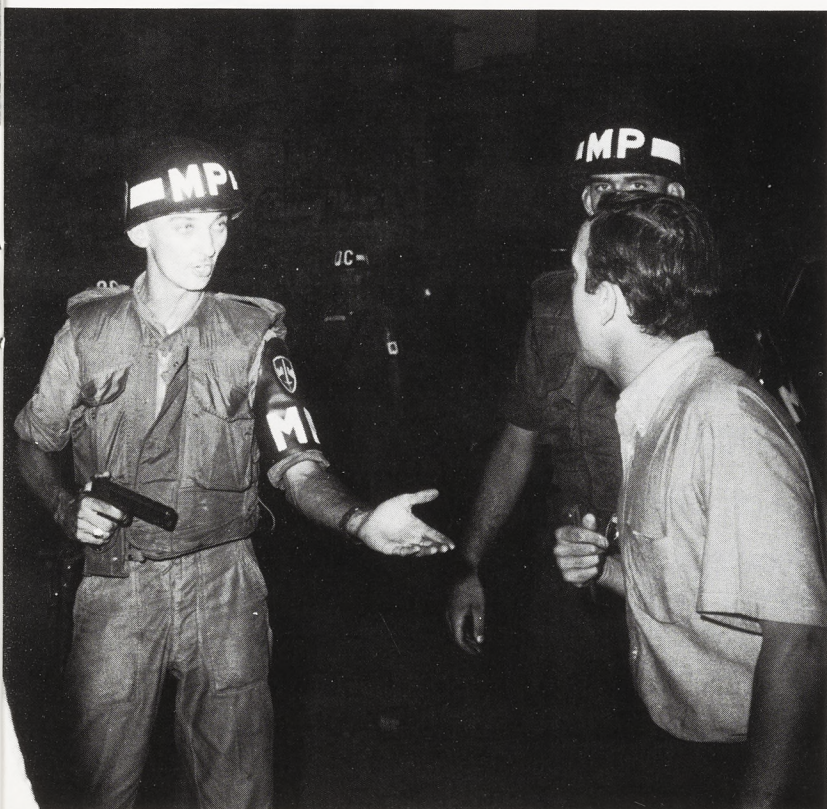
UPI/Bettman

"Criticism I accept — and expect. It's the labeling that angers me. For covering the Vietnam War the way we did, many of us were labeled "enemy sympathizers," if not Communists. For being in Baghdad when I was, I was again labeled a sympathizer, if not a fascist.

"I'd go anywhere for a story if there was enough viewer interest and CNN wanted coverage. I'd go to Hell itself for a story if someone important down there wanted to be interviewed. But then, the labelers would probably declare I was down there because I was an atheist."



CNN



Associated Press



Associated Press

(Clockwise) Peter Arnett reports from Baghdad on CNN; is arrested by police during anti-Soviet demonstration in Moscow; has his camera taken and is detained by U.S. military police in Saigon during anti-U.S. demonstration.

"I'm Proud Of What He Has Achieved"

By **Elsa C. Arnett**
The Boston Globe

From a Boston Globe story in which Elsa C. Arnett, reporter on the "Globe", told about her war correspondent father just after his dramatic reporting of the the first bombing of Baghdad.

BOSTON — ...Mesmerized and frightened, I listened intently to live transmissions of massive bombs exploding around the hotel room in Baghdad where three lonely CNN reporters were broadcasting.

One of them was my father...

As I listened to him describe the force of the explosions, I was devastated by his decision to volunteer to report in Baghdad and his insistence on remaining there when most American reporters had left.

However, this was not the first time I have agonized over his safety. My father has thrown himself into life-threatening crises for four decades...

His assignments have always been dangerous. Two years ago, my father was covering a refusenik demonstration in the Soviet Union and I watched the television set with horror as half a dozen Soviet militia men accosted him, bludgeoned and kicked him and threw him into an armored truck.

"I'm A Survivor"

But he is not fazed by those experiences. "Journalism is more than a job to me. War reporting is my life... I'm completely absorbed by what is happening around me and the effort it takes to file a story; I don't have time to worry about the danger," he always told me.

Though he added, "I've been lucky, I have common sense, and I made it through Vietnam. I'm a survivor."

...My father left New Zealand in his youth searching for adventure and a purpose to his life. He found it in journalism.

He is committed to accurately representing critical events in the hope that the public and government can intelligently evaluate the next step and avoid making mistakes. And his efforts

are having an impact. As U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney responded when asked about the situation in Iraq: "All I know is what I'm hearing on CNN."

Why He Stayed

That is why my father remained in Vietnam through the end, that is why he hurtles into the confusion that surrounds all conflicts, and that is why he has chosen to remain in Baghdad even now, as most of the journalists left are trying to flee by truck to Jordan.

Indeed, during this conflict with Iraq, my father has been a valuable link between the center of the war and the rest of the world...

I am proud of what he has achieved. His passion for journalism has motivated me to pursue a career in the profession. I still remember him explaining to my mother why it was necessary for me to go into the jungles of El Salvador with him when I was 15 years old.

"The only way she'll ever know if she wants to be a reporter is to go out and do it. And I can't think of a better place to start than El Salvador," he said...

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"The Truth Is..."

By Andrew Arnett

From an Op-Ed Page article in The New York Times by Peter Arnett's son, who is a musician in New York.

...At a Washington press luncheon..., Senator Alan Simpson, Republican of Wyoming, accused my father of being an "Iraqi sympathizer." Mr. Simpson then charged that, during the Vietnam War, my father, who won a Pulitzer prize for his reporting for The Associated Press, had a special relationship with the North Vietnamese. According to the Senator, my father was allowed to stay in Vietnam after Saigon fell because he was married to a Vietnamese woman whose brother was in the Vietcong.

Mr. Simpson, perhaps chastened by the public's outrage at his attacks, hasn't said much about my father recently. In fact, all he has added is that he would like to meet with him to explain his comments.

But the damage has already been done. The American Vietnamese community, which made considerable sacrifices during the Vietnam War, was upset by Mr. Simpson's accusation that my mother Nina Arnett, had ties to the Vietcong.

The truth is that my mother was separated from her two brothers in 1954 when the Geneva agreement divided Vietnam. Her brothers were trapped in the North while she fled to the South. One brother, a doctor, died in the 1960's; the other became a mathematics professor. Neither was politically active during the war — and neither would have been able to influence North Vietnamese relations with the Western media.

My mother, an American citizen, still mourns her brothers. This pain has been compounded by Mr. Simpson's unsubstantiated allegations...

In smearing my father, Mr. Simpson used guilt-by-association tactics more in


keeping with a dictatorship than a democracy. Information is essential to an open society. If our freedoms are not upheld at home, our sacrifices abroad mean nothing.

• • •

Editor's note: Simpson wrote a lengthy letter to *The New York Times* which contained a qualified apology for what he said about Arnett's family. He said it was made "in the absense of concrete evidence to corroborate the family situation." He said his choice of the word "sympathizer" was "not a good one" but that "dupe" or "tool" might better describe what he regarded as Arnett's role. He assailed Arnett's coverage from Baghdad as "harmful to the United States." Arnett accepted the apology and said, "On any question of my coverage from Baghdad, that is something I and CNN would be ready to debate with him at any forum."

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A faint, light gray outline map of Europe serves as the background for the text. The map shows the major landmasses of Europe, including Scandinavia, the British Isles, France, Germany, Italy, and the Iberian Peninsula.

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THE TV WAR: CBS' Bob McKeown (above) live from the front

CBS



44 (L-R) Cruise missile is launched...

ABC

Scud attack victim treated in Tel Aviv...

ABC

TV News

The War's Notable Lessons

By Jonathan Alter

Newsweek Media Critic

From an article, "Why the Press Was One of The Gulf's Casualties."

NEW YORK — As any radio-talk show host can attest, Iraq isn't the only loser in the Gulf War...News organizations were routed by the military in the battle over access and, assaulted by many viewers... Obviously generalizing about the "media" is not entirely fair; almost every publication and TV network can point to examples of good pieces. But on the whole, the war was more noteworthy for the lessons it taught.

Drain the Pools

The Pentagon's effort to control coverage was based on the infamous use of pools...From beginning to end, this was one of the last places to find a good story. In the blame game, the real culprits are news executives who agreed to the silly rules long before the war. If they had threatened not to participate, the restrictions might well have been loosened. At bottom, the military needed TV to build and sustain support for the war more than TV needs the military to build ratings.

The TV networks, by and large, were chastened by the early capture of CBS's Bob Simon and his crew at the Kuwaiti border...Until the end, when CBS's Bob McKeown raced to Kuwait City first for a scoop, CBS, NBC and CNN stuck with

the pool rules and paid for it. Only ABC, after much internal debate, agreed to let Forrest Sawyer break free of the system. His strategy was to hook up with the Saudi and Egyptian forces, which, ironically for countries with rigid anti-press policies, were far more open to coverage than their American counterparts. The result was that ABC was the first network with footage of deserters (well before the ground war), the first (and only) to go along on a bombing mission and the first with pictures from the front. As ABC's experience showed, the news media can be trusted to report without exposing their personnel to the hazards of the modern battlefield or interfering with military operations...

Skip the Briefings

...Here's where the pool idea might actually make sense. Send everyone else out to report. The result would be better stories and, almost as important, protection of the press from itself. The single biggest blow to the media's reputation was the television of badly framed and occasionally idiotic questions at the Riyadh and Pentagon briefings. Some of that can't be avoided—the process of news gathering is messy—but editors should not have sent reporters to the war who wouldn't know a battalion from its brigade if their lives depended on it.

Context, Context, Context

Peter Arnett in Baghdad wasn't the problem; his reporting, however restricted, was better than nothing. The problem was at CNN headquarters in Atlanta. The network wrongly thought its boilerplate disclaimer after his broadcasts ended its obligation to provide context for his reports. This is where CNN squandered its early lead in the coverage. Its experts were no better or worse than the others. But with a few exceptions, the CNN correspondents—viewed too often as interchangeable parts—did not usually analyze as well as the competition.

Of course, much of the analysis by the networks amounted to little more than treading water. Countless hours were spent on military diagrams of dubious accuracy...In a larger sense, increasingly scarce TV news resources were misallocated. Why was it left to PBS to air a documentary exploring Saddam Hussein's past? Why didn't all of the networks air carefully prepared historical and geographical programs like Peter Jennings's fine "Line in the Sand"? The bias for live coverage—even when nothing was happening—meant less insight overall.

Forget Phoney Neutrality

...Dan Rather getting teary and shaking hands with Lt. Gen. Walt Boomer should have been done off camera...real



Night bombing of Baghdad...

ABC



Saddam Hussein on Iraqi TV

ABC

journalists keep their feelings from getting in the way.

But commendable dispassion should not be confused with neutrality. In a war like this one, full "objectivity" is not only impossible, it's dishonest. No reporter can be expected to resolve whether he is a journalist first, or an American. The proper approach is neither to assume that the U.S. government is always lying, nor always telling the truth. Trust, but verily, as Ronald Reagan used to say.

And what if verification—independent reporting—is impossible, as it was so often in the Gulf? With its quick win, the Pentagon will surely try to repeat its press policy the next time. The only answer is to keep banging on doors, looking under rocks and avoiding worry about being popular.

10 Years to CNN's Overnight Success

By Edwin Diamond

New York Magazine Media Writer

...CNN's overnight success has actually been ten years in the making. [CNN founder Ted] Turner's idea of a 24-hour television service modeled on all-news radio and using the new satellite technology for live transmission was simple. The New York radio station WINS developed the basic news wheel back in the sixties — "you give us 22 minutes and we'll give you the world."

Ted Turner started thinking about a 24-hour news service in the late seventies. CNN began broadcasting in 1980. A year later, CBS News considered its own cable-news operation and commissioned a study of what it might cost. In 1982, ABC joined with the Westinghouse broadcast group to form the Satellite News Channels. (SNC was deep-sixed within months.) CBS News talked about acquiring CNN. Other broadcast groups blustered and postured about their own cable plans, promising to "take on" CNN. Hank Whittemore, in his book, *CNN: The Inside Story*, (Turner's authorized account of the birth of the network) quotes J. Christopher Burns of the Washington Post Company: "The reason Ted Turner decided to go ahead with (all-news TV) in the form that he's doing may be that he doesn't understand the problem...The cable industry doubts that Ted Turner knows his ass from a hole in the ground about news."

Today, the cable industry — the 46 operators of the hardware systems



Wounded girl shown in ABC rebroadcast from Iraqi TV

around the country — has practically deified Turner (it also helped bail him out when he became financially overextended). On January 16, the first night of the Gulf War, Turner's CNN collected the largest audience in cable history. Almost 11 million cable households watched — just 1.6 million households shy of the CBS audience (and the CNN figures do not include the dozens of network affiliates and independent stations that took CNN, or any of the watchers abroad). That night, Turner's 10-year-old news service achieved parity with broadcasters who had been in the news business 60 years.

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But, Where's Page 2?

By David Halberstam

Author, Correspondent

From a New York Times Op-Ed article by David Halberstam, the veteran correspondent and author, most recently of "The New Century."

...Contemporary technology is dazzling, offering rare, almost addictive immediacy. "We should make our motto, 'We are the world, we are wired,'" a TV executive said recently, talking about his network's capacity for instantaneous

coverage. What he meant was this: If we are there, the event is important; if we are not, the event is not.

That immediacy does not necessarily mean better, more thoughtful reporting; it is arguable that the lack of satellites and comparative slowness of the transmission process in the old days permitted the news desks in New York to act less as prisoners of technology than they do today.

For if the technology has improved, then the editing function, the cumulative sense of judgment — the capacity of network news executives to decide what to use and how to use it, and how to blend the nonvisual and visual — has declined in precise ratio to the improvement in technology.

Film is more than ever an end in itself: To have the technology is to use it. The disparity between network news judgment and comparable cumulative print news judgment becomes steadily wider.

As I write, the cameras are at the ready. We await the imminent start of a ground war while the networks cover the scurrying back and forth of Iraqi envoys. America is at the point where small events are not merely covered but over-covered.

In general, the networks come too late to an important story, give us too little coverage in the days and weeks when the decision-making process is still unfinished (a good example is the appalling coverage of Senator Sam Nunn's hearings on the Persian Gulf) and too much once the shooting starts.

The coming of an hourlong news show, which would allow network journalists to do a better job explaining events, has been stillborn, and only ABC with "Nightline," qualifies as a network that gives us page 2...

WAR

a0761-----
b i BC-Gulf-WarBegins 01-16 0039
^BC-Gulf-War Begins,0038<
^BULLETIN<

CENTRAL SAUDI ARABIA (AP) — War with Iraq began early Thursday as a squadron of U.S. fighter-bombers took off from the largest U.S. air base in central Saudi Arabia, the U.S. military announced.

AP-DS-01-16-91 1855EST<

AND PEACE.

a0789-----
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^BULLETIN<

NICOSIA, Cyprus (AP) — President Saddam Hussein of Iraq ordered his forces early Wednesday to withdraw from Kuwait, Baghdad radio reported.

^MORE<

AP-DS-02-25-91 1741EST<

The Associated Press was first to report that war had broken out between the Allies and Iraq on January 16.

And first to report that Iraq was withdrawing from occupied Kuwait.

First in war.

First in peace.

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AP Associated Press



ABC

Peter Jennings Strolls ABC's floor map graphic.

TV Graphics Steadily on Target

By Walter Goodman

TV Critic, The New York Times

From a story citing suspended briefings and curbs on field coverage, eclipsed by non-pool reports from the front by Bob McKeown of CBS and Forrest Sawyer of ABC at the start of the ground war.

Such moments and the few strong pictures from Independent Television News...were the exceptions.

...the stars of the tube were maps of the battle area and their handlers, the retired military men and other experts who had achieved celebrity in the weeks of the war. In this campaign, ABC News won.

Although Dan Rather of CBS News and Tom Brokaw of NBC News, in desert garb in Saudi Arabia, made the more dramatic figures, particularly in dawn's first light, [Peter] Jennings, in blue suit, white shirt and tie at his New York desk was more steadily on target.

The ABC news producers recognized that lacking pictures from the front, the closest television could come to satisfying everybody's natural desire to see what was happening was through maps and experts, and ABC provided more of the former and the best of the latter.

There were close-ups of the terrain, along with a short course in berms and wadis, and when Anthony Cordesman and Gen. Bernard E. Trainor lapsed into expertise, Mr. Jennings whipped them back into English. "Tony," he chided at one point as Mr. Cordesman was delivering a chalk talk, "you put so many squiggles on there sometimes I don't always know what you mean."

Print Graphics Information, One Bite at a Time

By Ray Chattman

Executive Director, Society of Newspaper Design

The newspaper information graphic has joined President Bush, the U.S. military and the Cable News Network as one of the big winners of the recent Persian Gulf War.

Indeed, the war boosted the credibility and popularity of the "info graphic" to its highest point since the introduction in 1982 of *USA Today*, the paper which

made the use of information graphics a staple of modern print journalism.

As newspapers have become more comfortable with conveying information to the reader in graphic form — and as readers have come to expect info graphics as a necessary part of the daily news diet — information graphics have grown in function and scope. In the early

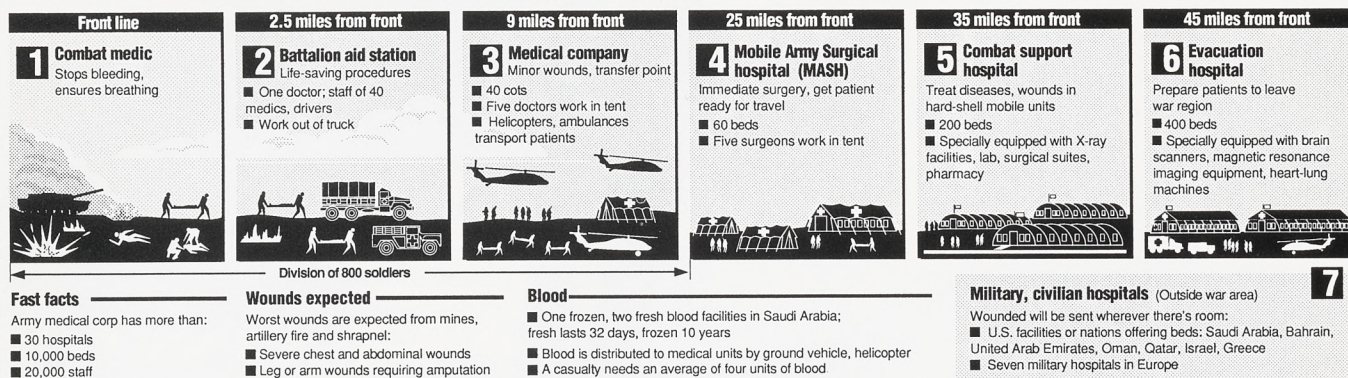
days of what has now become known as the "graphics revolution," the information graphic was a simple chart, or a one-column map which gave only the general location of the bus accident or the plane crash.

But during the Gulf War, we saw all that change.

The information graphic matured into 49

How ground troops are treated

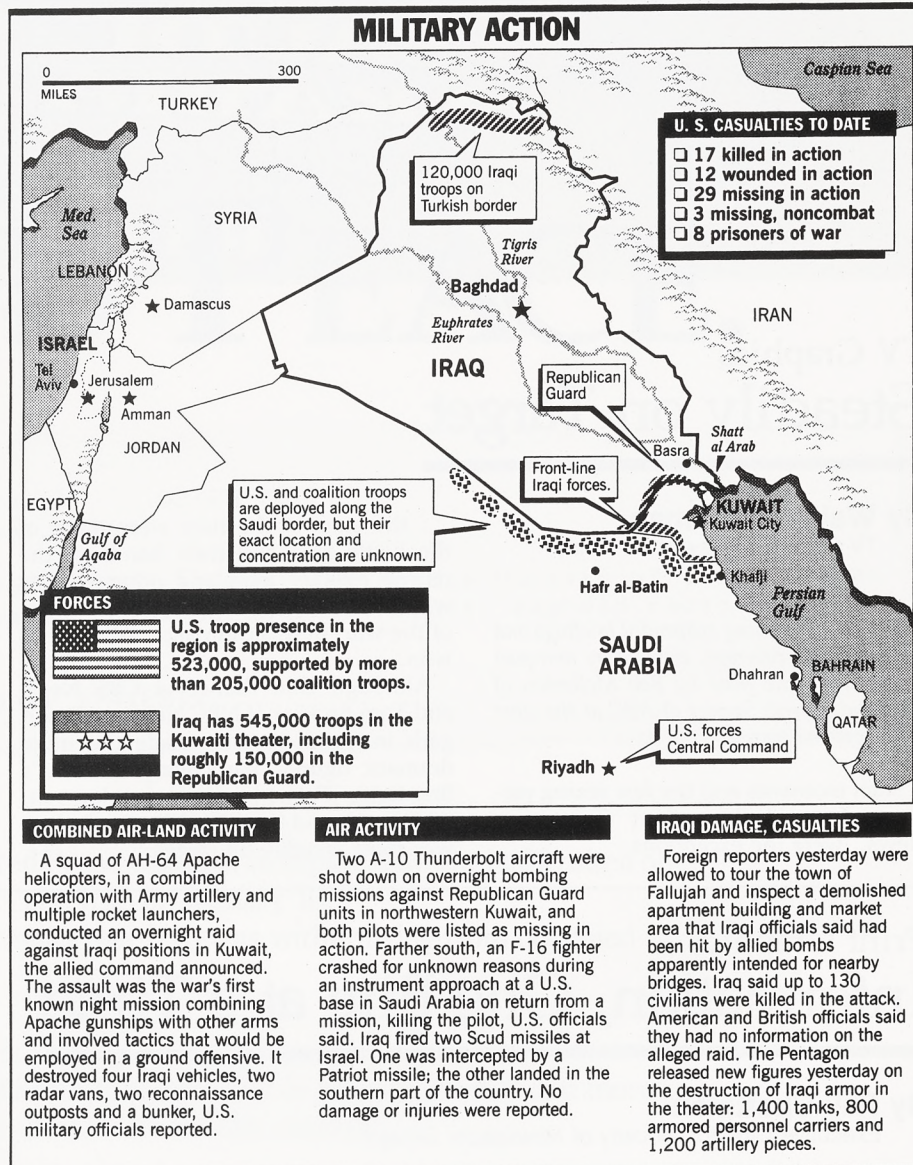
Mobile medical units follow ground troops, treating casualties immediately. The injured then are moved through a system of hospitals, each providing another level of care. Severely wounded are removed from the war region in five to 10 days. Each military branch has its own hospitals, but all casualties enter a system much like the Army's:



SOURCE: Army Health Services Command, Academy of Health Services, Medical Research and Development Command, Defense Department Office of Health Affairs, Surgeon General, Jane's Defense Weekly; Research by WENDY GOVIEFF

Knight-Ridder Tribune News/MARTY WESTMAN

While television viewers were treated to the sight of missiles exploding on the horizon outside Baghdad, only the information graphic could visually encompass



Such events had to be made more understandable — something only information graphics could do.

BY BRAD WYE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Instant War

By Timothy R. Clark

Senior Lecturer, Tufts University

Wouldn't it be a shame if all
news outlets were like this page!
We can't let this happen ever—anywhere.
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A Gift of Satellite Technology: Instant War

By **Kenneth R. Clark**
Media Writer, Chicago Times

During World War II, battles shown in local movie house newsreels, the television of the day, were a month old. In Vietnam, the time lag between a fire fight and the television screen was down to 24 hours. Now, in the Persian Gulf, an Iraqi SCUD missile explodes simultaneously in a Tel Aviv neighborhood and in the American living room.

Welcome to instant war, the first in history, with all of its attendant problems. Rumors get reported as fact, military leaders, leery of the effect that death and maiming in real time might have on the American public, institute heavy-handed censorship and "the Nintendo effect" reduces slaughter to little more than a video arcade game played with laser-guided smart bombs from the cockpit of an F-15.

Instant war is the gift of satellite technology but, as easy as it looks on the television screen for networks covering the conflict, it is neither easy nor cheap. The outbreak of war in Iraq sent ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN scrambling for room on dozens of internationally and domestically owned communications satellites, each of which carries 16 to 34 transponders any one of which can be split into two "video paths" for television pictures.

Rooftop "Flyaways"

All four networks, along with their European counterparts, went into battle packing uplink dish antennas called "flyaways" because they are so compact they can be broken down, stored in suitcases and shipped as excess luggage on an airline flight. Once a flyaway is set up on a rooftop in Dhahran or in a Tel Aviv street, all a correspondent has to do to reach his audience when the SCUDs come in is don a mask, step in front of a camera and start talking.

Communication satellites, parked about 22,500 miles up in space, in geosynchronous orbits that keep them constantly over one point on the earth's surface, are the targets of the flyaways. Their transponders receive the flyaway signal and relay it to a "downlink" dish in the United States, which pops it back up again to a domestically owned "bird" for distribution to network affiliates and independent stations — all at the speed of light.

Under normal circumstances, satellite transponders have a lot of idle time. Regular customers of organizations like Conus, which owns three domestic



TCS-lite suitcase dish antenna/phone (L) that beams calls to satellite; used (R) by Peter Arnett reporting from Baghdad.

transponders, pay rates ranging from \$1.4 million to \$1.8 million a year for constant access. When regulars are not using their transponder channels, or when demand is high, Conus acts as a broker, renting out its own available space or going to competitors and leasing time for customers at a spot rate of \$400 an hour.

All Transponders Booked

Within days following the bombing of Baghdad, there was nothing left to broker. Domestic operators like Conus were booked to the hilt and COMSAT, the international satellite operator with signatories in a dozen or so countries, said traffic on all its Western Hemisphere satellites increased as much as 400 per cent. Some broadcasters, left behind in the rush, went up on experimental satellites or leased transponder time on hitherto unavailable Soviet birds.

To complicate matters, the one satellite, dubbed 338, that could relay line of sight signals directly from the Middle East to American downlink facilities, was running out of fuel and wobbling, forcing technicians to adjust its orbit every 40

minutes. Still, 338, which hangs just seven degrees above the Saudi horizon, was jammed with traffic from the outset.

Those unable to get aboard the 338 were forced to bounce their signals to London from a COMSAT satellite over the Indian Ocean, then relay them to the United States, but pictures were not the only beneficiaries of high-tech reporting.

CNN's 4-Wire Phone

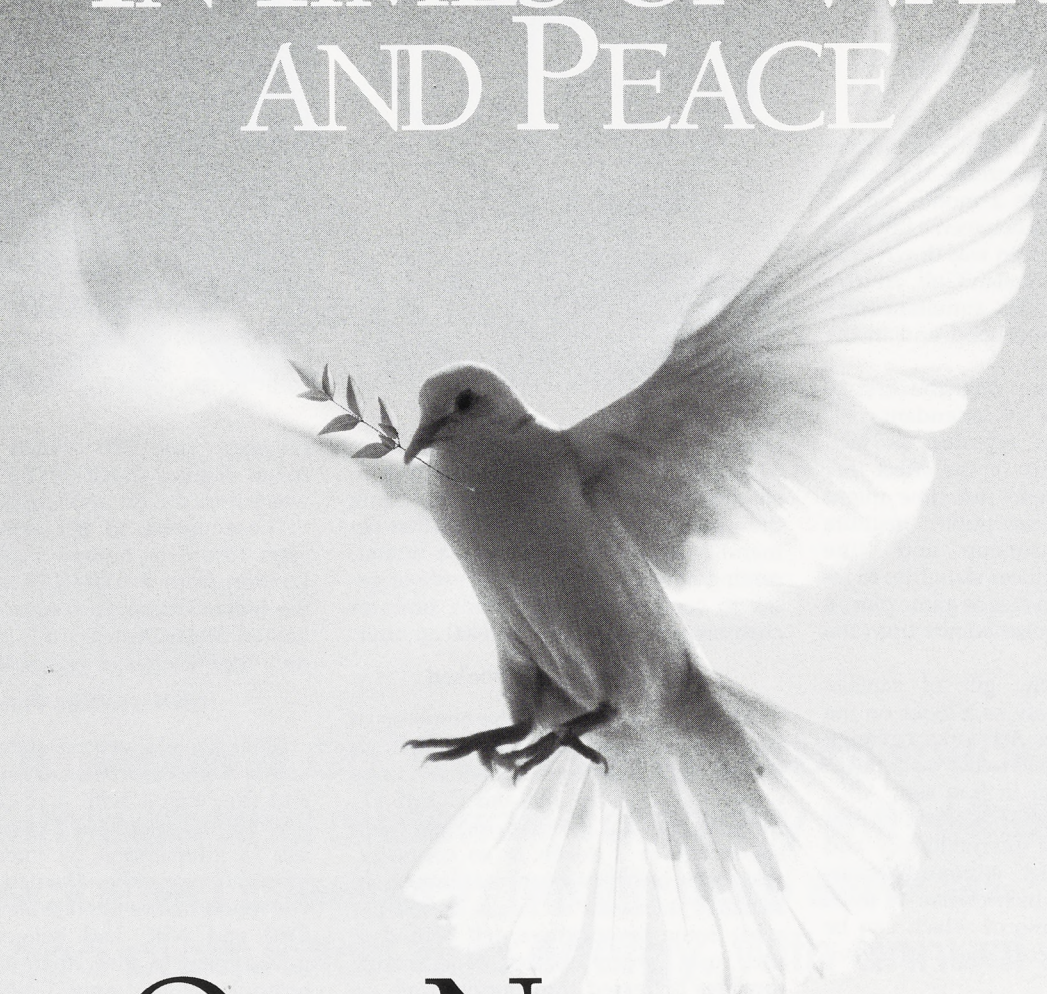
CNN swept opening coverage of the war in Baghdad with audio signals alone, and they did it with a so-called "four-wire" radio-telephone hookup not subject to interruption by lines and communications centers downed in the blitz. For weeks before the first air strike, ABC, CBS and NBC had begged the Iraqi government to allow them to install the technology, but only CNN prevailed, thus proving that no matter how advanced the technology may be, some things never change.

Saddam Hussein, it seems, is a CNN fan, so, as always, it isn't so much a question of what you know. Who you know still counts, even in "Star Wars."



"NEVER MIND TROOP MOVEMENTS AND BODY COUNTS—HOW ARE MY OVERNIGHT NIELSENS?!" 53

IN TIMES OF WAR AND PEACE



ONE NETWORK WAS VOTED BEST FOR NEWS

In October and November of 1990, readers of *The Washington Journalism Review* voted CNN The Best Network For News in the Annual Best In The Business Poll. CNN won 42% of the vote, followed by ABC with 32%, CBS with 13% and NBC with 9%. CNN is the only source of global communication delivering immediate, credible and comprehensive information, 24 hours a day.



THE WORLD'S NEWS LEADER



(L-R) Photographers Laurent van der Stockt, Patrick de Noirmont and Thomas Kern toast their release on arrival in Ammon.

Detained in Baghdad

By Patrick de Noirmont

Reuters Photographer

AMMAN, — Handcuffed, blindfolded and beaten, I was left slumped in a jeep by Iraqi guards who scurried for cover during an allied air raid on Baghdad.

Heavy explosions nearby rocked the vehicle. But there was nothing I or fellow photographer Laurent van der Stockt could do to find safety.

When the raid finally ended, our captors re-emerged and again beat us about the head and neck.

The ordeal in the car was traumatic. But possibly the most fearful moment of eight hours in the hands of the Iraqis came when an officer accused us of spying and threatened execution.

It began when, obeying Iraqi orders for foreign newsmen to leave the country, I was heading out of Baghdad for the Jordan border with van der Stockt and another photographer, Thomas Kern.

Van der Stockt, 27, is French and works for Gamma, the Paris-based picture agency, and Thomas, 26, is Swiss and works for Contact, an agency headquartered in New York.

Seized While Leaving

At the wheel was our elderly Iraqi driver, Mohammed. Military personnel stopped our car near Baghdad's interna-

tional airport and ordered us to follow their vehicle to an army camp.

We arrived at the beginning of an American air raid.

After huddling in a sand-bagged fox-hole during the 20-minute raid, our guards took us to a room. An officer took our passports and documents issued by the Ministry of Information to facilitate our departure and exit at the border.

Guards put handcuffs on Laurent and Thomas. They tied my arms behind my back.

Guided like a blind man to a car, they told me to sit slumped forward — obviously to prevent me from seeing where we were going. My colleagues were taken to another vehicle.

Beaten By Guards

Shortly later, I was transferred, with rough shoves and kicks, to what appeared to be a military jeep. Laurent joined me. There was no sign of Thomas. Blows and sharp karate chops made sure we kept our heads pressed to the knees.

Even before the vehicle moved into gear, another air raid began. Our captors ran for shelter. We were left sitting, still slumped forward.

After the air raid, we were moved

again, still blindfolded.

At the next and last stop, Thomas joined us in what appeared to be a command post. Two officers began interrogating us, mixing questions with assertions that we were not what we said we were — journalists leaving Iraq with official permission.

Accused of Spying

"You are a liar," one officer told me, after hitting me hard on the head. "You are accused of spying and you should know you are under the law of war."

In Iraq as elsewhere, espionage in wartime is punishable by death.

Then they left us.

More than two hours later, we were taken away, herded into what appeared to be our original car and driven off.

The guards stopped on the road and took off the handcuffs — but not the blindfolds — before delivering us to the entrance of the al-Rashid hotel, headquarters of the international press.

At last, the blindfolds came off.

"Sorry," said Guard

"Sorry," said one of the guards. They returned our equipment and left.

At the hotel's air raid shelter, Saadoun al-Jennabi, the information ministry official charged with looking after the foreign press, was surprised to see us back. Told what had happened, he was close to tears.

"I apologize, I am very sorry," he said, hugging us one after the other.



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PRODUCTS AND SERVICES THAT CREATE EXCITEMENT WORLDWIDE

Denial of Free Press is Rampant Throughout the World

By **Norman A. Schorr**

Chairman,
OPC Freedom of the Press Committee

In 1990, journalists in disturbing numbers were denied freedom to report the news. In different countries, this denial took the form of strict censorship, arrests, physical assaults, torture, kidnapping and murder. In the Persian Gulf war, journalists were subjected to unprecedented restrictions.

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reported that at least 32 reporters, broadcasters and others had been murdered throughout the world; Freedom House put the number at 43. Principal cause of death: what the victims had written, broadcast or had been investigating.

South America, where 18 were killed, continued to be most hazardous for practicing journalists; with 7 murders the Philippines was the single country with the highest number of assassinations. Colombia followed with 6.

According to a CPJ report, there were nearly 1,000 attacks on the press in more

than 100 countries. At least 80 journalists were physically assaulted, 270 were detained. Freedom House found that 43 journalists received death threats, homes of 12 were raided or destroyed, 40 publications or radio stations were shut down, 9 were bombed.

All this in the year when the UN General Assembly, after 11 years of debate, approved a resolution committing all countries to the "principles" of press freedom. It was also the year when the democracy movement's successes were responsible for an increase in the number of countries that Freedom House could say had free print and broadcast media. In 1990, this number was 61; in 1989, it had been 56. The number of countries with partly free media rose to 31 from 29 in 1989. Sixty-five countries continued to have government-controlled mass communications.

A most striking development occurred in the Soviet Union, where a new press law banned prior censorship and guaranteed press freedom. The media in the country demonstrated unusual dar-

ing and openness — with periodic criticism of officials. In midyear, penalties of imprisonment and heavy fines were voted against those who were accused of slandering the Soviet president. In January, 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev called for suspension of the law assuring freedom of the press.

Also, in 1990, 23 governments enacted new measures which restricted journalists' freedom to do their job.

About 45 percent longer than a year ago, the list of journalists in jail, kidnapped, "disappeared" or held hostage names 95 in 24 countries. Prepared in March 1991 by CPJ, with the assistance of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and International PEN, the list includes 20 prisoners each in China and Sudan. Syria is next with 7, Turkey and Israel follow with 6 each, and Myanmar (formerly Burma) with 5. Thirty-nine on the list were prisoners a year ago.

Because of the difficulty in obtaining information from many countries that are among the most closed societies, the prisoner list that follows is not complete:

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Philippe Bolibo — A journalist with state-run Radio Centrafrique, he was arrested in June, 1990, accused of defaming President Andre Kolingba. Reported-ly, not formally charged.

Pierre Debato — Former general director of the government daily *E Le Songo*, Debato had left his job to start an independent newspaper. Charged with threatening state security and public order, he was arrested in September, 1990, during a meeting reportedly held to organize a peaceful demonstration. At last report, he had not yet gone to trial.

Thomas Koazo — He was arrested in October 1990 following a meeting held in Bangui calling for a national conference to discuss multi-party democracy. Charged with threatening state security and membership in an unauthorized organization, he has not yet gone to trial.

Mbrede Tchakpa — The former general director of the government-run Radio Centrafrique, he was arrested in September, 1990, during a meeting reportedly held to organize a peaceful demonstration. Charged with threatening state security and public order, not yet gone to trial.

CHINA

Chen Ziming — The publisher of *Economic Studies Weekly*, Chen was arrested in the crackdown on the 1989 Democracy Movement and sentenced in February, 1991, to 13 years in jail on charges of sedition, counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement.

Chen Erjin — Chen, who reportedly contributed several articles to the unofficial journal *April Fifth Forum*, is still in prison for a 1982 conviction on "counterrevolutionary" charges.

Fan Jianping, Hou Jie, Jin Naiyi — Journalists with *Beijing Daily*, they are believed to have been arrested in 1989 in the crackdown on the Democracy Movement.

He Oui — A shipyard worker involved with various unofficial publications. He was sentenced in May, 1982, to ten years' imprisonment for "inciting violation of the laws and decrees of the state."

Li Jian — A reporter with *Literature and Art Weekly*, Li is believed to have been arrested in 1989 in the crackdown on the Democracy Movement.

Liu De — An editor with *Jiannan Literature and Arts Journal*, he was sentenced in February, 1987, to seven years in prison on "counterrevolutionary" charges for

making a speech critical of the Chinese Communist Party.

Lu Liling — A member of the editorial department of *Development and Reform*, the journal of the Research Institute for the Reform of the Economic Structure, she was reported to have been arrested in June 1989 during the crackdown on the Democracy Movement. There are reports she has been freed.

Tseten Norgye — Reportedly arrested in April or May, 1989, in Lhasa when police searched his house and found a mimeograph machine allegedly used to print literature advocating Tibetan independence. There are reports that he may have been executed.

Song Yuchuan, Wu Xuecan — Journalists with *People's Daily*, believed to have been arrested during the 1989 crackdown on the Democracy Movement.

Wang Juntao — The editor of *Economic Studies Weekly*, Wang was arrested in 1989 while trying to flee China. He was sentenced in February, 1991, to 13 years in jail on charges of "sedition and counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement."

Wang Xizhe — A factory worker and editor of the unofficial journal *Responsibility*, Wang was sentenced in May, 1982 to 14 years' imprisonment for "coun-

terrevolutionary" activities.

Wei Jingsheng — Editor of the unofficial journal *Exploration*, Wei was sentenced in 1979 to 15 years in jail and three years' deprivation of political rights for "counterrevolutionary propaganda" and passing "secret information" to a foreign journalist.

Xu Shuilang — A contributor to unofficial journals, Xu was arrested in July 1981, apparently for articles critical of socialism.

Xu Wenli — A co-founder of the unofficial journal *April Fifth Forum*, Xu was arrested in April, 1981, and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for "organizing a counterrevolutionary group" and for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation."

Yang Hong — A correspondent in Yunnan province for *China Youth Daily*, Yang was arrested in June, 1989, for circulating "rumor-mongering leaflets" and protesting corruption.

Zheng Di — A journalist with *Economics Weekly*, Zheng is believed to have been arrested in 1989 while fleeing the country.

Zhu Jianbin — A co-founder of the unofficial journal *the Sound of the Bell*, Zhu was arrested in April, 1981, apparently for efforts to organize the National Association of Democratic Journals.

COLOMBIA

Maruja Pachon — The head of FOCINE, the government's film promotion agency, Pachon was kidnapped in November, 1990, reportedly by drug traffickers.

Francisco Santos Calderon — An editor at Bogota's major daily, *El Tiempo*, he is believed to have been kidnapped by drug traffickers in September, 1990.

COMOROS

Ali Soihili — A stringer of Comorian origin working for Agence France-Presse, Soihili was arrested in August, 1990, and reportedly accused of participating in an alleged coup attempt. He is being held without charge or trial, and reports indicate he may have been tortured.

EGYPT

Hamdeen Sabahi — A journalist, he was arrested in February, 1991, reportedly by order of the minister of the interior under state-of-emergency legislation.

ETHIOPIA

Bealu Girma — A former editor of the Amharic newspaper *Addis Zemen* and author of an Amharic-language novel "Oromiya" (Enough), which is reportedly critical of the government, "disappeared" around April, 1984, in Addis Ababa. His

whereabouts are unknown. Unconfirmed sources say he was seized by government agents.

INDONESIA

Arswendo Atmowiloto — The editor of the weekly tabloid *Monitor*, he was jailed in October, 1990, for publishing a poll of the 50 most admired personalities in which the Prophet Mohammed placed 11th.

IRAN

Mariam Ferouz — Former editor-in-chief of the women's magazine *Jehan-e-Zanan* (Women's World) and secretary of the Democratic Association of Women, the women's branch of the Communist Party, believed to have been held since the early 1980's without charge or trial and to have been tortured.

Malekeh Mohammadi — The former editor of several pre- and post-revolution publications, she worked for the journals *Donia Mardon* (World) and *Nameh Mardom* (People's Letter). Believed to have been held since the early 1980's without charge or trial, she was reportedly tortured. Unconfirmed reports say she has recently been released.

ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Radwan Abu Ayyash — The president of the Arab Journalists'

Association and director of the Arab Media Center, Ayyash was placed in administrative detention in November, 1990, for six months. In December, his detention was reduced to five months. **Najib Faraj** — A journalist for the Bethlehem Press Office, he received a year's administrative detention in September, 1990.

'Abu al-Ra'uf Ghabin — A journalist who worked for the Gaza Press Office, Ghabin was administratively detained in August, 1990. During his detention, he is said to have been assaulted. His detention was extended for 130 more days.

Rafiq Yunis Ma'rabeh — Affiliated with the newspaper *Al-Shaab*, Ma'rabeh was placed in six months' administrative detention in October, 1990.

Haten Abdel Qadar — Managing editor of the Arabic daily *Al-Fajr*, Qadar was arrested in October, 1990, and placed in six months' administrative detention.

Ziad Abu Zayyad — An editor of the Hebrew-language Palestinian weekly *Gesher*, in November, 1990, he was placed in detention for six months, accused of contributing to the uprising in the occupied territories.

KENYA

Gitobu Imanyara — The editor-in-chief of *The Nairobi Law Monthly*, Imanyara was detained in

March, 1991, and charged with "falsely and maliciously publishing a seditious publication containing... an editorial promoting feelings of ill-will or hostility between different sections of the population." If convicted, he faces up to ten years in prison for each of several charges.

LEBANON

Kazem Akhavan — A photographer for the official Iranian press agency, Akhavan was captured at a militia checkpoint south of Tripoli, Lebanon, in July, 1982; may have been killed.

Terry Anderson — A U.S. journalist, chief Middle East correspondent for the Associated Press, Anderson was kidnapped in March, 1985, in West Beirut.

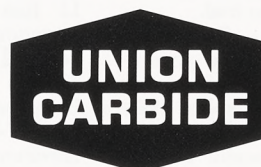
Alec Collett — A British journalist on assignment for a United Nations agency, Collett was kidnapped in March, 1985, in a Beirut suburb. There are unconfirmed reports he was killed.

John McCarthy — A British journalist on assignment for World-wide Television News, McCarthy was kidnapped in April 1986 while on his way to the airport.

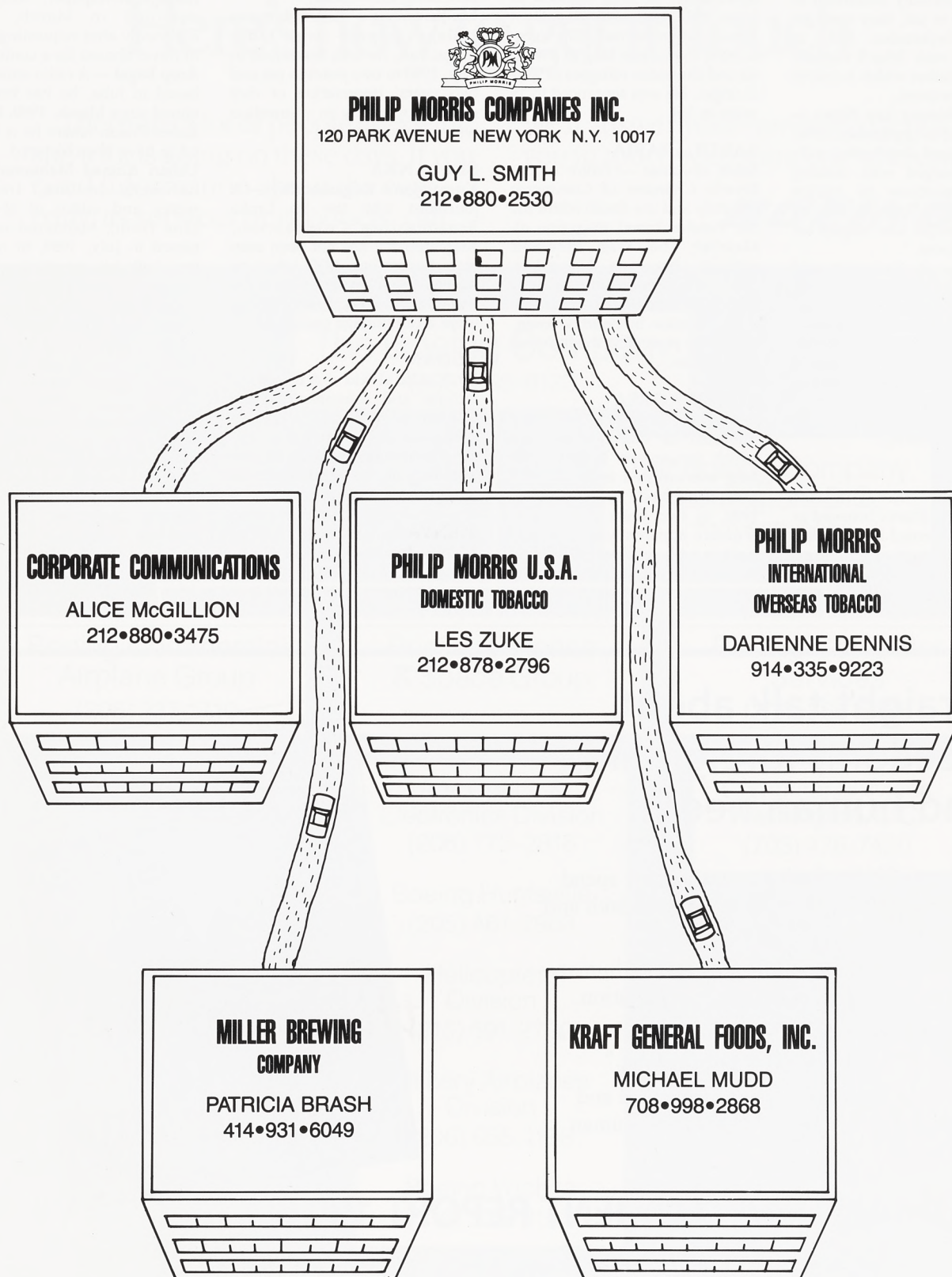
MAURITANIA

Mamadou Mika — A journalist

*The strength and sacrifice
of our men and women in
service inspires the world's
hope for peace and freedom.*



WE'RE JUST A PHONE CALL AWAY . . .



with Agence Mauritanienne de Presse, Mika has reportedly been detained without charge since November, 1989.

MYANMAR

(formerly Burma)

Sein Hlaing, Myo Myint, Nyan Paw — Reportedly sentenced to three years in jail, they were arrested in September, 1990, in connection with *What's Happening*, a publication which is critical of the government.

U Maung Maung Lay Ngwe — Was arrested in September, 1990, for writing and distributing publications charged with making "false accusations to agitate unrest in the country and to make the people lose respect for the government."

Win Tin — A freelancer and former newspaper editor, he was active in establishing independent publications and a writers association during the 1988 democracy movement. Arrested in June, 1990, he was sentenced to three years' hard labor, apparently for opposition to the military government.

PERU

Janet Talavera — Acting director of the paper *El Diario*, believed to represent the armed leftist group Sendero Luminoso, she was arrested in July, 1989, charged with

apology for terrorism for an article that glorified a June, 1989, armed attack on then-President Alan Garcia's bodyguards.

RWANDA

Vincent Rwabukwisi — Editor of the independent *Kanguka* newspaper, he was arrested in July, 1990, after returning from Kenya, where he had gone to interview the former king of Rwanda and Rwandan refugees of Tutsi origin. He was sentenced to 15 years in jail.

SAUDI ARABIA

Saleh al-Azzaz — Editor of the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce monthly and the Saudi editor for the London-based magazine *al-Majallah*, he was detained without charge in November, 1990. He reportedly alerted Western news organizations to a demonstration by Saudi women, who were protesting the informal driving ban.

SOUTH KOREA

Jang Myung-guk — The publisher of *Dawn*, a monthly which focuses on labor issues, Jang was arrested in June, 1990, and sentenced in December, 1990, to two years in jail. The sentence apparently was in connection with articles and lectures he gave to workers about labor

laws and the operation of unions.

Kim Myong-shik — A contributor to *Grassroots*, a magazine published by the Asia Africa Latin America Research Institute, he was arrested in June, 1990, later sentenced to 1 1/2 years in jail for publishing material benefiting the "enemy."

Lee Jin-kyung — A contributor to college papers and labor magazines, he was sentenced in July, 1990 to two years in jail and two years' deprivation of civil rights, apparently in connection with his writings.

SRI LANKA

Kumaraguru Kugamoorthy — A journalist with the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation, Kugamoorthy has not been seen since September, 1990, when he was taken away in a jeep by several armed men, one of whom wore a camouflage uniform.

SUDAN

Dr. Khalid al-Kid — A university lecturer and columnist for the Communist Party newspaper *al-Midan*, he was reportedly detained in June, 1989, possibly in connection with his affiliation with the Communist Party.

Mohammed Abdul Rahman Ali, Amin Mohammed Amin, Mohammad Mohammad Nasir, Faisal Mohammad Saleh —

Reported by Amnesty International to be journalists, they were arrested in 1990 and held without charge or trial.

Arop Madut Arop — Director of Communication at the Sudan Council of Churches and former editor of the now-banned *Heritage* newspaper, Arop was detained in March, 1990, reportedly after requesting a visa to travel abroad for a conference.

Arop Bagat — A radio announcer based in Juba, he has been detained since March, 1990, held in Kober Prison where he is believed to have been tortured.

Ushari Ahmad Mahmoud — A university lecturer, freelance writer and editor of *al-Hagiga* (The Truth), Mahmoud was detained in July, 1989, in connection with his reporting on local human rights abuses.

El-Fatih al-Mardi — A journalist with *Al-Ssahah al-Tijariya* (Commercial Forum), al-Mardi was sentenced to 14 years in prison.

Samir Girgis Massoud — A freelance journalist, Massoud was reportedly arrested in July, 1989, apparently for membership in the Communist Party.

Omer Muhajir Mohamedein, Mohammad Salman, Al-Tijani Dafalla al-Sayyed, Tijani el-Hussein — Journalists with the outlawed Ba'th Arab Socialist Party newspaper *al-Hadaf* (The

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- Ranks the rich countries by signs of human distress—crime, addiction and pollution.
- Names countries where human freedom can only be described as "totally lacking."
- Reveals strategies to steer foreign aid and national policy toward democratic human progress.

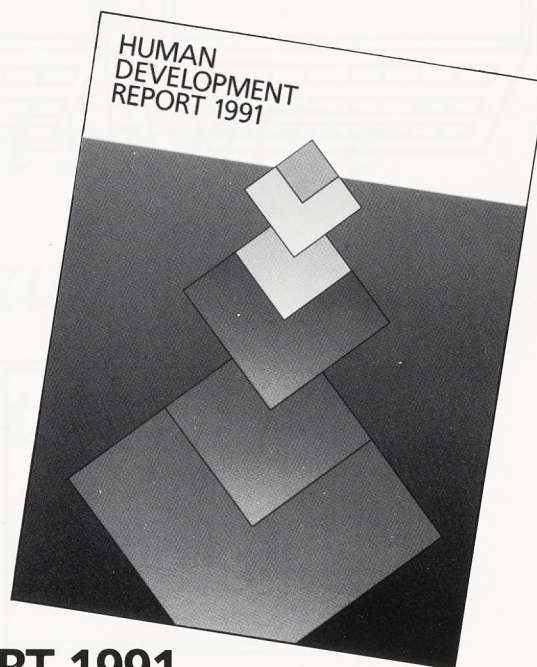
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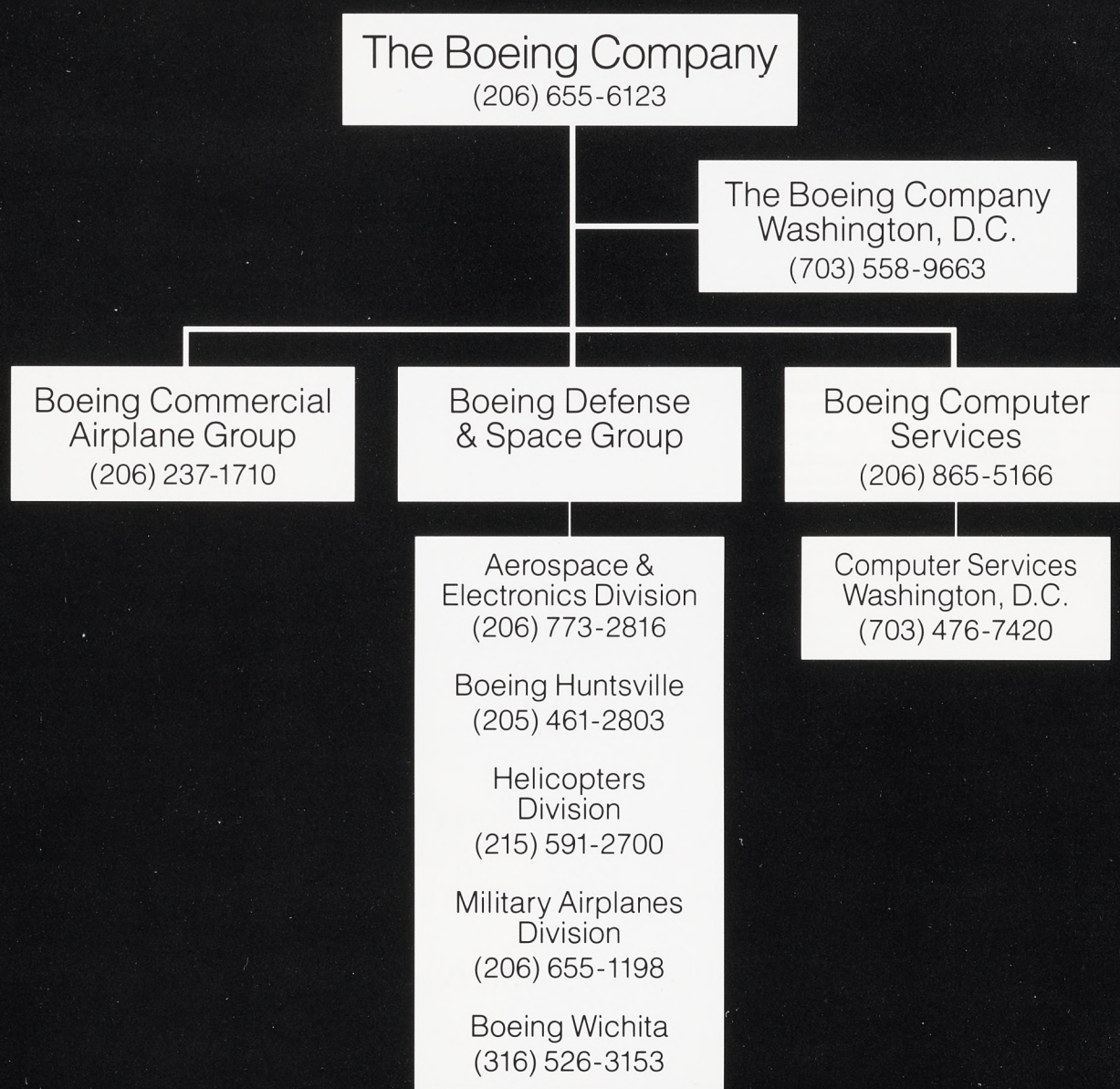


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BOEING



Goal), they were detained in mid-1990 and are being held without charge or trial.

Ahmed Abdel Nabi — A journalist with Radio Omdurman, Nabi was detained in May, 1990, and is reportedly held in a secret detention center where he is believed to have been tortured.

Mohammad Mahjoub Osman — Co-editor of the independent newspaper *al-Ayam* (The Daily), Osman was detained in September, 1989.

Abdel Gadir al-Sammani — A journalist with the governmental Sudanese News Agency, he was detained in 1990 and is held without charge or trial.

Mohammad Osman Abu Shouk — A journalist detained in August, 1989, released and reportedly rearrested in 1990.

Mohammad Medani Tawfig — The editor of *al-R'ay al-Aam* (Public Opinion), Tawfig was reportedly detained in March, 1989, released in July, 1989, and then rearrested. His arrest may be related to articles he had published critical of the military.

Siddig al-Zeili — An investigative reporter with the Communist paper *al-Midan*, he was arrested in August, 1989. At the time, he was conducting an investigation into alleged human rights violations by militias.

SYRIA

Anwar Badar — Radio-television reporter Bader, arrested in December, 1986, held in the Military Interrogation Branch.

Rida Haddad — A editorial writer with the daily *Tishrin*, Haddad was arrested and held since 1980 without charge or trial.

Marwan Hamawi — A former director of the Syrian news agency SANA, Hamawi was arrested in 1975 and reportedly held since without charge or trial under state-of-emergency regulations.

Samir al-Hassan — A journalist with *al-Asifa* and editor of *Fatah al-Intifada*, al-Hassan was arrested in 1982.

Izzat al-Mahmoud — A Syrian journalist working in Beirut, al-Mahmoud was handed over to the Syrian government by Lebanese authorities in 1982.

Imad Naddaf — A television reporter based in Damascus, Naddaf was arrested in 1982 and held in Tadmur Prison.

Jamal Rabi' — A journalist with *al-Qa'ida*, arrested in 1986.

TUNISIA

Hamadi Jebali — Director of the weekly opposition newspaper *al-Fajr* (Dawn), Jebali was sentenced in January, 1991, to one year in prison for carrying an article said to defame a judicial institution.

TURKEY

Ilker Demir — Editor of *Kitle*, a banned journal associated with the Turkish Socialist Workers Party, he was arrested in April, 1984, sentenced on charges of "communist propaganda." His sentence has been variously reported as eight years, 23 years and 48 years.

Mehmet Fehim Isik — A correspondent for *Deng*, Isik was arrested in March, 1990, and charged with "disseminating separatist propaganda."

Mehmet Ozgen — Editor of *Bagimsiz Turkiye* (Independent Turkey), is serving a sentence of more than 30 years.

Alattin Sahin — Editor of the weekly *Halkin Yolu*, is serving a 36-year sentence.

Erhan Tuskan — Editor of *Ilerici Yurtsever Genclik*, sentenced to 48 years and ten months in jail.

Hasan Fikret Ulusoydan — Former editor of *Halkin Sesi* (Voice of the People), which is associated with the Turkish Workers and Peasants Party, he was arrested in May, 1980, and in jail since November, 1980.

VIETNAM

Doan Quoc Sy — Professor and novelist who contributed to the literary magazine *Sang Tao*, sentenced in April, 1988, to nine years in jail.

Doan Viet Hoat — An academic, he was arrested in November, 1990, apparently in connection with sending abroad news and commentary about events in Vietnam. He was accused of "counterrevolutionary activities against the socialist regime."

Le Van Tien — A journalist before 1975, and detained in a "re-education" camp from 1976 to 1988, he was arrested in December, 1990, apparently in connection with sending abroad news and commentary about events in Vietnam.

Tran Duy Hinh (also known as Thao Truong) — A journalist and author, detained in April, 1975.

WESTERN SAHARA

Embarca bint Taleb wuld Hussein — An announcer for Radio Sahara, she was reportedly abducted in September 1979. It is unclear who is holding her. Amnesty International reports plainclothes police searched her home shortly before she was taken.

Harper's Magazine salutes

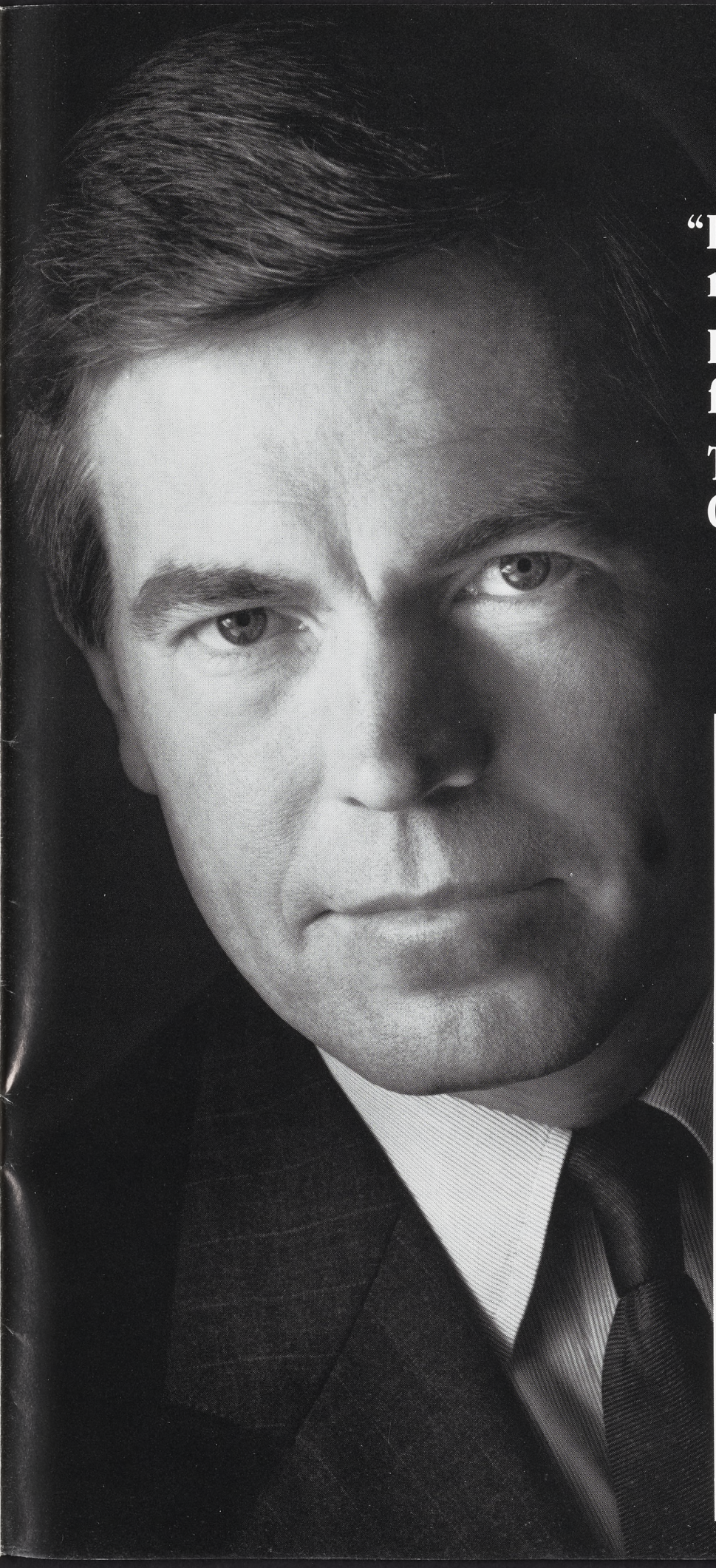
CBS News reporter Bob Simon, his crew,

and all journalists who have courageously challenged the

military's unconstitutional restrictions on press coverage

in Grenada, Panama, and the Persian Gulf.

HARPER'S
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From Dhahran to Jerusalem Life in Scudland

By Jonathan Ferziger

United Press International
Jerusalem Bureau Chief

Ferziger, UPI's Jerusalem bureau chief, was dispatched to Saudi Arabia to cover the Gulf War, and moved to Jerusalem in late January.

JERUSALEM — It was just after the second Scud attack of the night. Driving down a twisting road on the outskirts of Dhahran near the Aramco compound — a relaxed refuge for Americans in Saudi Arabia during good times, but half empty since the war started — we were having some trouble seeing out the windshield.

Minutes before, breathing heavily into our gas masks, UPI's Tom Ferraro and I gazed at the spectacular midnight fireworks display. Through the glass roof of the compound's guardhouse, we watched in wonder as a flame-tailed Patriot missile soared from the ground and destroyed the approaching Iraqi warhead.

Now we were heading down the hill to the U.S. Consulate in our rented Honda Civic to check on evacuation flights and gather some quotes, but the haze was getting thicker. We rounded a bend and found ourselves enshrouded in fog so dense the headlights just reflected back in our eyes.

Tom, a White House reporter of considerable talent, was first to put two and two together. "We're in the middle of the desert, right? What's with this fog?" Then it hit us.

"GAS."

We tore out our masks for the third time that night and barreled through the soupy haze a good 10 minutes. Spinning the radio dial frantically for news, all we got was Arabic wailing and play-by-play from the NFC championship on Shield 107, the U.S. Army-run station.

What We Learned

Not a word about chemical warheads and nobody else on the road by now was wearing the ugly black headgear through which we were struggling to breathe.

We learned that night that it gets foggy in the desert on cool January nights all by itself with no help from weapons of mass destruction.



New York Times correspondent Malcolm Browne

But then who wasn't fooled by the six-week shower of Scud-B missiles Saddam Hussein sent blazing across the skies over Saudi Arabia and Israel — without a trace of mustard gas?

Think about:

— The millions of pig-snouted face-masks distributed to the populations of two nations that previously shared little in common except intense dislike.

— The 600,000 or so allied soldiers who toted masks and clumsy head-to-toe NBC suits (nuclear, biological, chemical) every step they took through the desert.

— The hundreds of Israelis and Arabs who injected themselves with the spring-loaded atropine nerve gas antidote they were allocated because they sniffed an unfamiliar odor and felt a bit faint.

Fearless on Rooftops

In retrospect, about the only ones with the clairvoyance to go bare-faced were the seemingly fearless CNN and network TV reporters who mounted the roofs of the Dhahran International Hotel and Tel Aviv Hilton and presented the light show to the world. I put on my gas mask 19 times during the war: two attacks in Saudi Arabia with the one foggy false alarm, and another 15 times in Israel, with another false alarm. I sealed up my office with plastic sheets and masking tape, and typed urgent first-takes wearing a gas mask.

I was called out of a combat pool with the 1st Marine Division near the Kuwait front after the first week of the war and sent to Jerusalem — via Dhahran by jeep, Riyadh by train, Jeddah by taxi, Cairo by Saudia Airlines and Tel Aviv by bus — a journey of five days.

But the first night I spent in Jerusalem, I heard the same familiar wail, followed by a series of BOOMS.

Duck Decorated Boxes

Not much different from the kingdom I left behind. Except in Israel, civil defense instructions were broadcast in Hebrew, English, French, Russian and Amharic — for the newly-arrived Ethiopians. Children also decorated their gas mask boxes with pictures of Donald Duck and the chief military spokesman, Brig. Gen. Nachman Shai, had become a national sex symbol because of the calm, soothing way with which he told people after each attack when it was safe to breathe again.

After spending two months in a teetotaling Islamic culture, it was particularly refreshing to walk across the street from the bureau to La Belle, a journalist's pub that was generous with the Maccabee beer on tap and was happy to keep a steak warm when meals were interrupted by a Scud attack.

Blinding Streak

But as in Dhahran, the "fog of war" made it difficult from time to time to figure out what was going on. I was only in town a few days when a blinding streak of light crossed the Jerusalem skyline one evening, followed by a thunderous crash.

Well-trained in the Marines, I donned my gas mask in nine seconds flat and rushed downstairs to the Israeli army spokesman's office to see why Gen. Shai had given no warning about what apparently was a massive strike in the heart of the City of Gold.

Inside, the olive fatigue-clad soldier behind the desk looked up from her *Cosmopolitan* Magazine, giggling. She wasn't wearing a mask.

"I know you're new here, but you really don't have to be afraid of lightning," she said.

The Washington Post

PARADE

In her past are years of political struggle, a great love and a tragic loss. Now, as the elected president of Nicaragua, Violeta Chamorro has taken on her biggest challenge:

CAN SHE SAVE HER COUNTRY?

An Interview By Larry Smith

INSIDE: Teens Explore The Subject Of Aging

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IT ALSO TAKES GUTS.



After the death of a 14-year-old boy shot by British forces and Protestant police during the commemoration of Internment night, young men riot in the Republican and Catholic neighborhood of Ardoyne, Belfast.

For photographer Gilles Peress, Kodak T-Max P3200 professional film made the

difference between getting this shot and not even taking it—using a flash would have drawn too much attention.

The entire line of T-Max 100, 400, and P3200 films offers unprecedented combinations of speed, resolution, and fine grain. Exposure 1/15 sec at f/2.



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